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JPRS-CPS-84-006

16 January 1984

19981112 071

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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16 January 1984

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

BRIEFS

USSR, AFGHAN RESISTANCE--Bangkok, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--The Soviet aggressor troops, who have now been bogged down in the mire of Afghan guerrilla warfare for four years, cannot hope to crush the resistance and establish complete hegemony over Afghanistan, the local English newspaper BANGKOK POST says in a commentary today. The commentary points out: "Soviet military actions have made little headway against Afghan guerrilla fighters who have blown up ammunition dumps in downtown Kabul, destroyed hundreds of Soviet supply convoys and crippled the lines of communication. These tactics have tied down Soviet forces to defense of their installations and supply lines, making them even more vulnerable to attack." The commentary says that more and more resistance groups have joined hands in their military operations against Soviet military occupation. Unable to combat the guerrillas in the mountains, the commentary notes, the Soviets rely more and more on weapons of mass destruction. They use carpet [as received] bombing of cities and villages, napalm destruction of crops, and biological and chemical weapons. The commentary states that the Russians will in no way voluntarily withdraw from Afghanistan, and the resistance has to last for long. [sentence as received] [Text] [OW270723 Beijing XINHUA in English 0706 GMT 27 Dec 83]

CSO: 4000/155

## NORTHEAST ASIA

### BRIEFS

USSR BUILDUP IN SRV--Tokyo, 23 Dec (XINHUA)--The Japanese Foreign Ministry has expressed grave concern about recent Soviet deployment of TU-16 medium-range bombers in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay, reported Japanese daily YOMIURI today. The paper said the Soviet Union has deployed at least nine TU-16 bombers in the Cam Ranh Bay since last month. It quoted an unidentified foreign ministry official as saying the Soviet Union is trying to increase its military presence in the northwest Pacific Ocean, which may also pose a potential threat to Japan. Attributing to another government official, the paper said the most advanced Kiev-class aircraft carrier "Novorossiysk" is now sailing from the Mediterranean toward the Indian Ocean. It is very likely that the 43,000-ton aircraft carrier will sail into the Japan Sea via the South China Sea and be stationed in the Far East, said the official. With the "Minsk," another Kiev-class aircraft carrier, being assigned to the Soviet Pacific Fleet, the maneuver of the "Novorossiysk" up north may greatly influence the military balance in the Far East, said the report. [Text] [OW230712 Beijing XINHUA in English 0654 GMT 23 Dec 83]

CSO: 4000/154

WESTERN EUROPE

FRG'S GENSCHER CALLS FOR USSR AFGHANISTAN PULLOUT

OW270858 Beijing XINHUA in English 0828 GMT 27 Dec 83

[Text] Bonn, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--Federal German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher called on the Soviet Union yesterday to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan.

"With the end of its intervention by force in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union would make a significant contribution towards the improvement of international relations," said Genscher in a statement issued on the eve of the fourth anniversary of the Soviet intrusion.

He pledged at the same time continued West German support for the Afghanistan people's demand for self-determination and freedom and asked West Germans to continue to make donations to help Afghan refugees.

On the same day, Juergen Todenhoefer, a foreign policy expert of the ruling Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union block in parliament, demanded that the Soviet Union put an end to its "ruthless war" in Afghanistan. Withdrawal of Russian troops from the Asian country and restoration of the right of self-determination to the Afghan people would give credit to Moscow's proposal for an international none-use [as received] of force treaty, he noted.

In the past four years, he added, 700,000 Afghan civilians have been killed and 4.7 million people have fled to Pakistan and Iran as refugees. About a hundred Afghans lose their lives every week in Soviet bombings in that country, he added.

The anti-nuclear movement in Federal Germany also issued a statement calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The presence of over 100,000 Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan is a violation of the right to self-determination and contradicts repeated peace statements by the Soviet Government, said Jo Leinen, head of the peace movement.

CSO: 4000/156

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### YANAN, OTHER PARTY RECTIFICATION MOVEMENTS RECALLED

Nanjing DANG DE SHENGHUO /PARTY LIFE/ in Chinese No 5, 1983 p 48

/Presentation of "Archives on Party History" compiled by Zou Ronggeng /6760 2837 1649/: "The Four Rectification Movements in the History of Our Party"

/Text/ The Rectification Movement in Yanan

In 1942, our party carried out its first large-scale rectification movement.

After 20 years of training in revolutionary struggle, our party had already grown into a mature Bolshevik-style party. But there existed within our party the serious questions of deviation in the style of study, in our party workstyle and in the style of our writing. With respect to the Rightist and "Leftist" mistakes committed in the history of our party, no thorough liquidation had yet been executed ideologically, and along with the expansion of the ranks of our membership, the ideas of various nonproletarian classes had also been brought into the party. For this reason, the Party Central Committee decided to launch a rectification movement by making use of the period when the war of resistance against Japan remained relatively stabilized.

The program of this rectification movement consisted of opposition to subjectivism, sectarianism and party formalism, with opposition to subjectivism as its focus. The rectification implemented the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, curing the sickness to save the patient."

The rectification movement in Yanan was generally divided into three stages. Beginning in 1941, the Party Central Committee organized the 120-odd high-ranking cadres in Yanan to engage in study and sum up the party's historical experience. In May of the same year, Comrade Mao Zedong made a report, "Reform Out Study," at a cadre conference in Yanan, and the Party Central Committee made a "Decision on the Strengthening of Our Party Character" and called upon the whole party to study the rectification documents, thus making full preparations for the rectification to be undertaken.

The second stage was one of general rectification. With the publication by Comrade Mao Zedong in February 1942 of the report, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," as its point of departure and around the rectification of the three styles, the second stage promoted the study of 22 documents, carried out verification and inspection and summed up our experiences and lessons. That stage

was basically concluded in October 1943. In the cadre examination work during this period, because of interference by the "Left," especially the so-called "rescue movement" instigated by Kang Sheng, there resulted in many unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation. When they were discovered, the Party Central Committee made timely corrections.

In October 1943, the rectification movement entered its third stage: the party's high-ranking cadres studied our party's history anew and thoroughly liquidated our erroneous lines in history. On 12 April 1944, Comrade Mao Zedong made his report on "Study and the Current Situation" as a conclusion to the discussion of our party's history. On 20 April 1945, the Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee, which lasted 11 months, passed the "Resolution Concerning Certain Questions of History" as a conclusion on the rights and wrongs of our lines in history, thereby bringing the rectification movement in Yanan to a triumphant close.

The rectification movement in Yanan was a general Marxist educational movement carried out in the realm of the party. Through the rectification, the whole party achieved a high degree of unity on the basis of marxism-Leninism and established the foundation for the convening of the Seventh Party Congress and the war of resistance against Japan as well as the war of liberation.

#### The Rectification Movement From 1947 to 1948

This rectification movement was carried out when general land reform was launched in the various liberated areas. There existed at that time in various degrees the question of impure elements and an impure workstyle in the party organizations of our liberated areas, especially basic-level organizations in the countryside. In order to implement the land reform thoroughly, consolidate our rear and look forward to victory in our revolution, the Party Central Committee decided to carry out rectification among those party organizations in our liberated areas.

The program of this party rectification consisted mainly in the three examinations (that is, examination of class background, examination of ideology and examination of workstyle) and the three rectifications (rectification of organization, rectification of ideology and rectification of workstyle), with the point of emphasis being placed on the party's organizations in the countryside at the basic level in order to pay attention to the solution of rich-peasant thinking and an unwholesome workstyle of deviating from the masses by the landlords, rich peasants, scoundrels and certain party members who had sneaked into the ranks of our party. The party rectification this time, on the one hand, launched criticism and self-criticism and thoroughly exposed mistakes within the party and, on the other hand, invited masses from outside the party to participate in our party rectification meetings in order to listen to their views. This rectification purified the party organizations, improved the relationship between the party and the masses and thereby guaranteed the smooth operation of the land reform in the liberated areas.

## The Rectification Movement in the Early Period after the Founding of Our State

From the summer of 1950 to the spring of 1954, our party carried out the first rectification movement after the founding of our state.

The center of gravity of this rectification lay in the leading cadres at various levels, and its main task consisted in correcting the workstyle of bureaucratism and commandism and strengthening the liaison between the party and the masses of the people. Its basic approach was to convene meetings for the rectification of the cadres' workstyle or to establish rectification training classes at one level after another from the top downward and, in conjunction with the evaluation and summingup work that was going on at the same time, launch criticism and self-criticism, inviting also cadres outside of the party to participate in the evaluation meetings for party members and cadres. Those leading cadres also dispatched a contingent of trained core cadres to the basic level to do the work of educating and evaluating the party members. In February 1952, the CPC Central Committee issued a directive to implement party rectification in conjunction with the anticorruption, antiwaste and antibureaucratism movement. On the basis of the eight conditions with respect to criteria for party membership, it proceeded to register, evaluate and deal with the party members and also effected a penetrating examination and understanding of the cadres. This party rectification basically came to a close by the spring of 1954.

## The Rectification Movement of 1957

Along with the continued triumph of our socialist revolution and enterprises of construction, the subjectivism, sectarianism and bureaucratism within the party again began to breed anew. In April 1957, the Party Central Committee decided to carry out a rectification movement with the correct handling of the contradictions among the people as its theme and antibureaucratism, antisectarianism and antsubjectivism as its program. The movement implemented the principle of "proceeding from the wish for unity, through criticism and self-criticism, and then arriving at a new unity on a new basis." At the same time it prescribed that nonparty cadres should be welcomed to join the rectification movement but that they should do so completely out of their own volition. After the directive was issued, the party organizations of the country's leading organs from the provinces and municipalities and above as well as the universities and colleges, the journalist profession and press, science and technology, literature and art and public health circles all convened their forums so as to appeal for a broad input of views. In this manner, the rectification movement soon began to unfold vigorously.

But a very small number of bourgeois Rightist elements took this opportunity to trumpet a "free airing of views" and launch an attack on the party and the socialist system in a vain attempt to relace the leadership of the Communist Party. Thereafter, a large-scale anti-Rightist struggle took place throughout the country. It was entirely correct and necessary to carry out a counterattack against those very few Rightists, but this anti-Rightist struggle became seriously expanded, and it resulted in erroneously classifying a contingent of intellectuals, patriotic personages and party cadres as "Rightists." This lead to unfortunate consequences. The whole movement basically came to a close by June and July 1958. Because of the "Leftist" inclination in its guiding ideology, this movement failed to achieve its expected requirements in its later stage.

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HUMANISM AS PART OF MARXIST IDEOLOGY EXPOUNDED

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 7, 15 Jul 83  
pp 60-63

[Article by Li Lianke [2621 6647 4430], People's Publishing House: "Do Not Negate Marxist Humanism"]

[Text] Comrade Huang Nansen's [7806 8547 2773] "Several Theoretical Issues Concerning Man" (appearing in "Marxism and Man," Beijing University Press, and reprinted in RENMIN RIBAO after revision) is most interesting and enlightening. I endorse many of its viewpoints. However, I beg to differ from its negation of the basic Marxist humanist thinking. I wish to express my dissent in this article for instructions from the author and others.

#### I. Do Not Disparage Marx's Labor Alienation Theory

One of Comrade Huang Nansen's bases in his negation of Marxist humanism is his underestimation of Marx's labor alienation theory, turning it into Hegel's ideological dialectic philosophy and Feuerbach's humanism [renbenzhuyi 0086 2609 0031 5030]. If it is said that Marx's "1844 Economics-Philosophy Manuscript" in which he advanced the labor alienation theory bears a trace or vestige of Hegel's ideological dialectic philosophy and Feuerbach's humanism [renbenzhuyi], it will be understandable. However, if it is exaggerated into regarding the labor alienation theory as an expression of such vestige, it will actually be regarding the labor alienation theory, which is the basic substance and guiding thought of the "1844 Manuscript," as historical idealism. If so, it will be hard to understand why Marx, after criticizing Hegel's idealism in his 1843 article "Critical Introduction to Hegel's Legal Philosophy" by means of Feuerbach's materialism, would, in 1844, propose the labor alienation theory with Hegel's ideological dialectic idealism as the basic thinking. It will be just as hard to understand why Marx, after criticizing Hegel's idealism, discarded his dialectics and turned to Feuerbach's metaphysical humanism [renbenzhuyi]. Actually, Marx's critical successions to Hegel's dialectics and Feuerbach's materialism were synchronous. The course, as



Lenin mentioned, began in 1843. After 1843, Marx, in the status of a communist soldier, began to build his scientific ideological system with the proletarian world outlook. In the course of building it, as he had not yet found the suitable vocabulary to express his new world outlook, he had to borrow some terminology and expressional forms popular at the time. For this very reason, as pointed out by Marx himself, some people misunderstood it as the renovation of an old overcoat, and failed to see his preliminarily advanced scientific materialist world outlook. (See "The German Ideology," pp 251-252). But we should not have such misunderstanding.

Of course, the historical materialism advanced by Marx underwent a gradual course of concretization and systematization. If it is said that, when writing the "Critical Introduction to Hegel's Legal Philosophy" and "On the Issue of the Jews" in 1943, Marx had begun to explain the state with the townspeople society, then, when expounding the labor alienation theory in his "1844 Manuscript," he had begun to explain society with economic facts. As the explicit proposal of the concept of productive forces and production relations, rather than calling it the fundamental sign of historical materialism, it should be regarded as the basic indication of theoretical maturity. The proposal of the labor alienation theory signified the discovery of the key to understanding the history of social development in the history of labor development. I maintain that the "two Marx's" myth concocted in the West must be completely refuted, and that we can only, with a scientific attitude, find the inherent unity in the two periods, and fully clarify in our minds how the correct world outlook proposed by Marx in the early period was subsequently concretized and systematized.

In my view, Marx's labor alienation theory is neither a vestige of Hebel and Feuerbach, nor the core of Marxism, but an organic part of Marxism. Through it, Marx opens the gate to the new world outlook. It builds the development of society and the liberation of mankind on the foundation of economic relations and labor practice. It critically inherits the rational ideas in the alienation theory of the past and basically transcends and negates it. From Hegel's alienation of self-consciousness, to Feuerbach's alienation of the perceptual man, to Marx's alienation of labor, it was the very course of from idealism to metaphysical materialism to dialectic materialism. As a social phenomenon, labor alienation is a sort of realistic and material antagonistic state, absolutely intolerable to idealism.

Comrade Huang Nansen's discussion of labor alienation contains at least two self-contradictory instances. First, while maintaining that the labor alienation theory in its early phase is a vestige of Hegel and Feuerbach, he admits the existence of the concept and ideology of labor alienation in the later phase, yet fails to discover any essential difference between the early and later phases in the concept itself, or to point out any criticism subsequently made by Marx of the early phase. Next, while regarding the labor alienation as a vestige of Hegel and Feuerbach, he uses the

theory to analyze social reality, pointing out that not only is the phenomenon of labor alienation serious in the capitalist society, but its remnant is also found in the socialist society.

In addition to inextricable self-contradictions in the discussion of the labor alienation theory in his article, Comrade Huang Nansen's analysis of Marx's labor alienation theory is incorrect. First, his view that Marx's interpretation of the nature of man in his labor alienation theory is an abstract human nature theory is groundless. He feels that, when discussing the nature of man, Marx borrowed Feuerbach's formulation of "the characteristics of the category" and took the individual man as the focus. In my view, whether it is an abstract human nature theory hinges not only on taking the individual man as the focus, but on how he is regarded. By regarding him as an isolated and abstract individual and looking for abstract matters innate in him, it will be an abstract human nature theory, but by regarding him as an individual in society, in a collective, and looking for the nature of man in him and in his relations with society, it will be a concrete human nature theory, not abstract. Doesn't Comrade Huang Nansen himself admit that the man discussed by Marx in his labor alienation theory is already a man of society--a man who pursues free and conscious activities in a given society? I feel that the concept of "category" can serve as our reference. Society, the collective, the classes and the masses are man's different levels of category or type. The issue is that we should not make the "category" the common essence linking individuals in a purely natural manner, but should consider it the common essence linking society, viz., the social essence.

Next, nor is the view on the relations between labor alienation and private ownership a Hegel-type transposition. From the angle of logic, they may possibly be mutually determinative, but from the angle of history, labor alienation preceded private ownership. It is precisely like the relations of commodity with currency and currency with capital. Comrade Huang Nansen feels that, rather than a product of labor alienation, private ownership is the result of the development of productive forces. Yet, if productive forces, as the combination of man's physical power, mental power and tools, were not objectivized and used for productive labor, how could private ownership have emerged? Take the illustration given in Huang Nansen's article for instance: When parents bring up an unfilial son, isn't it because there has first been the alienating act of bringing up the son by the parents before the unfilial son is engendered?

Moreover, the interpretation of the restoration of human nature is not Hegel's ideological dialectic philosophy or Feuerbach's humanism [renbenzhuyi]. In the labor alienation theory, the restoration of human nature is a course of material activity to sublate labor alienation and eliminate private ownership. It is compatible with the objective law of the negation of the negation, and is not coined according to Hegel's combination of the positive and the negative. Neither reverting to the primitive natural state, nor returning to an a priori mold, the restoration of human nature is a conclusion reached by starting from the economic facts and

analyzing the contradictions in the economic system. It is precisely like the emergence of the communist society, which is built on the basis of analyzing the capitalist society, not on good intentions. If the nature of man is interpreted as the unity of social relations and social activities, will not the restoration of human nature and the progress of society become consistent with each other? Thus, the restoration of human nature is not Feuerbach's humanism [renbenzhuyi].

Naturally, it does not mean that the labor alienation theory has completely matured. It borrows some of Feuerbach's terminology and Hegel's expressive forms; its correct world outlook is still relatively abstract and needs concretization; its historical materialism is not yet a complete structure and requires systematization. Nevertheless, we must never, for these reasons, conclude that the humanism advanced on the basis of the labor alienation theory is bourgeois humanism.

## II. Do Not Interpret Humanism in Abstract

I feel that not only must we not interpret humanism by starting from the abstract man, but nor must we regard it as something abstract which has neither an ideological origin, nor factional struggles, nor historical development, and which cannot be critically inherited.

Verbally not rejecting the critical inheritance of humanism, Comrade Huang Nansen only refuses to call the legacy Marxist humanism. As for the why, his article basically gives no explanation. In his discussions, the author admits that humanism, after restriction and reform, may be called revolutionary humanism and included among the theories of communism. Nevertheless, by so doing, a question comes to mind: Is this revolutionary humanism which may be included among the theories of communism Marxist or bourgeois? In China's socialist reform, are not "labels" removed from the reformed landowners and bourgeois? Why then can we not call the reformed humanism proletarian or Marxist humanism? According to Comrade Huang Nansen's article, communism wants to liberate not only the worker class and the laboring people, but also all mankind, and basically opposes any exploitation and oppression; therefore, communism may also be called humanism. Then, is this humanism bourgeois or Marxist? If it is bourgeois humanism, how can it be organically included among the communist theoretical system?

Thus, the antithesis of humanism and communism discussed by Comrade Huang Nansen has no concrete purpose. Probably no one in China's theoretical circles will fail to see the basic antithesis of bourgeois humanism and communist humanism. According to the inherent logic of his article, Comrade Huang Nansen should answer why is there no Marxist humanism.

Those holding the same view as Huang Nansen attempt to answer the question. They say: Since the substance of the humanism discussed by you is all included in historical materialism, what is the need to mention

Marxist humanism? Historical materialism does not rule out Marxist humanism, just like the fact that we do not rule out the class struggle theory merely because it does not go beyond the scope of historical materialism. It makes us ponder: Why has China, for a long time, ignored the study of the issue of man inherent in Marxism? Can there be no connection with our failure to clearly bring out the Marxist theory on man and Marxist humanism?

These comrades also say: Anyhow, Marx in his mature phase no longer used the term humanism. However, when studying an issue, we must not stop at the form; we must mainly look at the substance. Marx in his maturity did not discard his ideologies on man's full development and his value and on the liberation of all mankind, but made them more concrete and gave them a stronger objective basis and a greater guarantee of achievement. The mature Marx developed the humanist ideology proposed in his early period. The main manifestations are: He pointed out the socioeconomic position of the individual and the proletariat as the basic social force to achieve proletarian humanism; he defined the effective means and forms of struggle to achieve humanism. In other words, the distinctions of Marxist humanism from other forms of humanism are, in the final analysis, as follows:

1. By means of socialist revolution, eliminate private ownership, the classes, the bureaucratic apparatus and labor alienation phenomena of all kinds.
2. By means of socialist construction, build a powerful material and technological foundation and an advanced material civilization, thereby gradually making the transition to the phase of "distribution according to need," enabling people to completely cast off the shackles of fetishism, and making labor the primary need in man's life and truly turning it into the nature of man.
3. By means of social reform and the building of a spiritual civilization, regulate the social relations among people and fully develop man's talent and individuality.

### III. Do Not Ignore the Issue of the Individual and Individuality

According to Comrade Huang Nansen, that humanism conflicts with communism, or, that there is no Marxist humanism, is because humanism focuses on the individual. In his view, anything focusing on or discussing the individual is bourgeois. As for whether bourgeois humanism focuses on the individual, it will not be discussed for the time being as it is not directly related to this article. The question is whether the basic difference between the bourgeois world outlook and the proletarian world outlook rests on focusing or not focusing on the individual, or on essentially different views on the individual.

In my view, the individual focused on in Marxism is absolutely not an isolated and abstract individual. Absolutely not isolated from them, he is closely linked with society and the collective. Man, according to Marxism, is the unity of the individual and mankind (society or the collective) as well as that of the subject and the object. In an antagonistic society, or "false collective," this unity manifests itself as the

unity of antagonistic contradictions; in a nonantagonistic society, or "true collective," it manifests itself as the unity of nonantagonistic contradictions. Only the humanism and individualism of the bourgeoisie reject the unity; the humanism and collectivism of Marxism are both premised on it.

The fact that the individual must obey society and the collective does not mean that society and the collective are antagonistic to each and every individual. The collective obeyed by the individual is constituted of individuals. The "Communist Manifesto" regards the free development of each and every individual as the condition for the free development of all people. "Das Kapital" also finds that one important principle of communism is the full development of each and every individual.

It must be admitted that, for many years, the issue of the individual has been seriously ignored in the teaching, propaganda and study of philosophy. Some people refuse to admit this point, on ground that society, the collective, the classes and the masses are all constituted of individuals, and it is equivalent to giving attention to the individual [when we give attention to society, etc.]. Nevertheless, if the individual is not regarded as an individual with individuality, with different social, physiological and psychological characteristics, but as something carved out of a mold, or out of molds of several different classes, then he is only part of a pile of material.

If we overlook the issue of the individual and individuality, our interpretation of society, the collective, the classes and the masses will tend to be abstract. To sum up human nature as class nature, it will be an abstract class nature. Abstracting class nature is not unconnected with the indiscriminate use of the class analysis in real life. One-sidedly stressing "large in size and collective in nature," without thought of activating the enthusiasm of the individual, is to abstract collectivity. Regarding the collective as an abstract antagonistic to all individuals will inevitably lead to centralism. Common prosperity is undoubtedly a socialist principle, but if it is interpreted as forbidding people to stand out in life and banning disparities in the degree and time of prosperity, it is to abstract the interest of the masses.

According to Marxism, man's social life exists in forms of the collective and of the individual. Collective life and individual life form an indivisible unity. In other words, the individual is not completely dissolved in society, but still retains his own individuality. One essential distinction of the combination of socialism and communism from that of the antagonistic society is that it is more conducive to the free development of the individual.

#### IV. Do Not Misunderstand the Real Life of Society

We should say that Comrade Huang Nansen, in his articles, does not, like some people, attribute all the incorrect ideological trends in society to

the study of the humanism issue. However, in these articles and when explaining the thinking in them at a symposium, he did indeed entertain some misunderstanding of the real life in society.

Comrade Huang Nansen says: Using humanism to interpret today's social phenomena and guide our practical actions is also weak and ineffective; fascism and the "gang of four" had no choice but to violate humanism; humanism cannot serve as the main substance of ideological education; it cannot replace Marxism; etc. Here, making the same mistake as when linking with reality, he takes the thing requiring proof, i.e., that there can be only one kind of humanism, as the premise. If, by humanism, Comrade Huang Nansen is referring to bourgeois humanism, he is of course correct: If we regard humanism merely resistance against force, it is indeed weak and ineffective and not to be followed. Marxism cannot be simply summed up as humanism; it will be incorrect to say that Marxism is humanism. However, the humanism advocated by us is Marxist humanism, and its one important principle is respect for the value of man. In other words, it is to eliminate the control exercised by things over man, thereby enabling man to obtain full development. Thus, we must eliminate private ownership and build a strong material and technological foundation. Can we still call it a weak and ineffective minor issue?

Some people always think of communist education as conflicting with the propaganda and study of Marxist humanism. Naturally, we have no intention to replace the former with the latter, and we only regard the latter as one aspect, one part, of the former. As we know, the communist education of learning from Comrade Zhang Haidi [1728 3189 6611] currently underway is a part of building a socialist spiritual civilization. What is spiritual civilization? According to Comrade Hu Yaobang's report at the 12th Party Congress, it refers to the reform of the subjective world, or man as the subject, and the result of the reform. According to the Marxist humanist view as we understand it, the nature of man as the subject is his social nature. In other words, he is a man of society, and can only survive, be free, and develop in society. Meanwhile, the socialist society, as the most socialized society, is one which can best enable man to fully develop his social nature. Therefore, the communist society is not only a historical necessity, but also the ideal of mankind. Just look: Are not Marxist humanism and communism unified? Is not the study of Marxist humanism consistent with communist education?

Here, I use the word "consistent," not "identical." As an ideological theory, Marxist humanism can neither replace the role of the entire Marxist theory or the communist ideological system, nor the effect of the principles and policies of all kinds. I only maintain that the study of man, the issue of humanism, is a tributary which can be accommodated in the Marxist theoretical system as a whole.

In short, Marxist humanism cannot be negated. It was not only clearly advanced by Marx, but its ideological substance is always consistent; it

not only exists in Marxist books, but is also found in the principles and policies of the communists. Whether it is called a doctrine, an ideology or a factor, it is the same in any case. The appellation may be rejected, but the theory cannot be obliterated. Our proposal today to recognize Marxist humanism is not any new discovery or invention, but merely for the purpose of enhancing a bit of consciousness and reducing a bit of blindness. Though Marxist humanism has suffered this or that kind of distortion, it has always played an irreplaceable historical role in the communist ideological system.

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CSO: 4005/185

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ANTISPIRITUAL CONTAMINATION IN PROPAGANDA WORK EMPHASIZED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 20, 25 Oct 83 pp 18-24

[Article by staff: "Propaganda Work Must Oppose Spiritual Contamination with a Clear-cut Stand; Talk (Abstract) by Deputy Director Zeng Delin [2582 1795 2651] of the Propaganda Department, Central Committee, during the Fourth Correspondents Meeting of SEMIMONTHLY TALKS"]

[Text] Under the leadership of the party Central Committee, very important results have been achieved on the ideological front since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, and the overall situation is good. Revolving around the line, principles and policies of the party and the construction of the two civilizations, the party's propaganda work has gradually been strengthened and improved. The people's trust in the leadership of the party Central Committee and their confidence in socialist construction have increased each day. The ideological and political awakening of the large cadres and masses has increased uninterruptedly. The social mood and the spiritual appearance of the people have also changed notably. Heroic groups and model figures, gaining glory for the country and dedicating themselves to communism and being good people and doing good deeds, are appearing endlessly and are encouraging people to exert themselves in an upward direction. This is the mainstream.

However, we must also clearly recognize that our propaganda work is still a very long way from the requirements of the party Central Committee and is still not suited to the needs of the construction of the four modernizations and the construction and development of the two civilizations. A rather significant number of problems exist on the ideological front. The tendency toward capitalist laissez-faire and the phenomenon of weak and lax leadership, solemnly pointed out by the party Central Committee in 1981, have not yet been turned around entirely. Some of these problems have even become more serious. Ideological confusion and spiritual contamination exist in literature and art, theory and other areas and require a high degree of attention. If we are not determined to improve this condition and allow it to develop further, it will result in serious consequences and the construction of the four modernizations will suffer a serious setback.

The party Central Committee is currently discussing the problem and preparing a document on how to strengthen leadership on the ideological front and



strengthen ideological and political work by the party. It is anticipated that a special meeting will be called shortly to solve this problem.

Presented below are several of my own views:

1. Propaganda work must be closely united with economic work and at the same time pay attention to preventing the tendency of burying our heads in economic construction and neglecting ideological work.

We are currently in a period of a great turn of events in history. A change of times will necessarily lead to changes in the people's ideology. The obligation in our party's propaganda work is to use correct ideology to lead the people in recognizing the times, recognizing their own responsibilities and recognizing the direction of progress and to lead the people's ideology to the socialist cause and to struggle in unity to fulfill the party's task. If, at the time the people's ideology changes, we do not properly conduct propaganda education with specific goals on a timely basis, confusion in the people's ideology will easily result. Our party is currently leading the entire people in various important reforms and in opening a road for socialist modernization construction with Chinese characteristics. Yet every reform affects the ideology of thousands and tens of thousands of people and their immediate and vital interests. Without the guarantee and coordination of realistic ideological and political work and propaganda education, it will be difficult for the reform to move forward smoothly and achieve success. Events prove that whether it is in the rural areas or the plants, mines and shops, the implementation of the production responsibility system and various economic reforms move forward smoothly whenever the reasons and policies are clearly explained to the masses. Conversely, without propaganda mobilization, without ideological work, good things will turn bad, trouble will develop and unhealthy trends and evil practices will grow.

Mobilizing the people's production initiative must, of course, be based on the principle of the material benefits of Marxism and must be done by uniting the worker's responsibility, authority and benefits. However, this motive force is still not enough. Another type of internal motive force is still needed and this is the invisible spiritual force. During the Jinggangshan period, the Yanan period, the initial period of the founding of the People's Republic and the period of the 3 years of difficulties, it was the reliance on this revolutionary spiritual force that conquered the enemy and overcame the difficulties. The pacesetting development of Daqing and the contribution to socialism by Zhu Boru [2612 0130 0320] and Zhang Haidi [1728 3189 6611] also depended primarily on spiritual force. When a person lives in society, the things that he seeks should not be limited to his individual material benefits. He should also be concerned with the development of society and the happiness of the people and, therefore, material benefits of a larger scope. At the same time, he should also seek a rich spiritual life and noble sentiments. Zhang Heng of the Eastern Han Dynasty had a famous saying: "A gentleman is concerned not with his low position but with his lack of noble virtues. He is ashamed not of his poor salary but of his lack of abundant knowledge." We had people among the ancients with noble virtues and with talent and wisdom who were head and shoulders above all others. We communists cannot be less worthy than the

ancients. If we talk only about economics and not about ideology and politics and if we do not improve the ruling position of the workers, peasants and intellectuals and arouse their consciousness as masters of the house, economic work and the construction of material civilization will lose their motive force and their direction and ideological chaos will be created or fostered. Consequently, it will not be possible for the traditional consciousness of capitalist society, its concept of the employment of labor according to remuneration, its belief in "everything for the money," looking only after oneself and not after others, and other bad habits to disappear naturally and for production to develop for the people's livelihood to improve. On the contrary, if we do not regularly overcome the old consciousness and old concepts, they will put up a gigantic invisible resistance to the socialist cause. For this reason, the party's propaganda work and ideological and political work must permeate economic work. In economic work, all practices which abandon or relax the party's ideological and political work are extremely erroneous.

An important reason that ideological and political work is weak and feeble is that the party committee has not included this work in its daily agenda of discussions. Party leadership is primarily ideological and political leadership. If the party committees do not take hold of the ideological and political work, it would be a serious dereliction of duty. In his talk on the "Reform of the Party and State Leadership System," Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must place ideological and political work in an extremely important position, carrying it out solidly and conscientiously and without relaxation. This work must be done by every level of party committee, every level of leadership cadre and every party member." We must conscientiously study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," unify our ideology, unify our pace and, through party reorganization, strengthen party construction, purify party ranks, improve party leadership, place ideological and political work in a truly important position in all party work, firmly improve the fighting strength of ideological and political work and guarantee the smooth progress of the construction of the four modernizations.

2. Propaganda work must oppose all spiritual contamination with a clear-cut stand.

Persisting in and protecting the purity of Marxism and maintaining political and ideological unanimity with the party Central Committee are the absolute requirements for the party character of propaganda work. Every department and every professional talent on the propaganda front are "soul engineers" and must not be spiritually contaminated and must also be engaged in a struggle against all spiritual contamination in our lives. One type is visible and easily discovered. For instance, the plays and movies which publicize the corrupt ideology and ways of life of the capitalists can be seen clearly and are quickly censured and resisted. Also, the reactionary and obscene pornographic recordings, video tapes, novels and periodicals smuggled in from abroad are also not difficult to identify and easily arouse people's vigilance and indignation. Of course, we cannot lightly treat the poisoning effect of these polluting materials on the ideology of the people, especially youths and young people, and we must investigate and suppress them strictly and hand out harsh punishments in accordance with the documents of the Central Committee and legal regulations. However,

we should also pay attention to another type of spiritual contamination. This is to hold blindly in esteem and publicize the harmful viewpoints and the mistaken ideological currents of the Western capitalists in philosophy, moral principles, social politics, literature and art, which lead people mistakenly to the wrong paths and produce among them a tendency to dissent from the party, socialism and the fatherland. It is not very easy for most people to detect the poison in this type of spiritually polluting product, and even when it is detected, it is difficult to handle immediately. For this very reason, it must particularly be handled conscientiously and analyzed carefully, differentiated and judged to prevent its spread.

Our party has always followed one principle in its different ideas of handling literature, art and academic matters. This is to "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." There is not the slightest question that Marxist doctrine and socialist literature and art occupy the leading position in "a hundred schools of thought" and in the blooming of "a hundred flowers." The double-hundred principle obeys the goal of socialism in serving the people. Obviously, we cannot allow this Marxist principle of our party to be misunderstood or even misrepresented as the principle of capitalist freedom [of speech] and we cannot permit erroneous and harmful things to use the garden plot of the people to sound off indiscriminately. Persisting with the four basic principles is the fundamental guarantee of our nation-building and construction and it is a truth proven by events. The use of "ideological liberation" as a pretext and the claim that the four principles are a "tightly binding curse" must be shattered. The idea is obviously wrong. We do not approve the use of administrative measures to solve ideological problems. We have always stood for the use of the weapon of criticism and the use of discussion and reasoning to overcome errors and to expand the truth. However, some people openly want to criticize Marxism and cannot remain quiet. We believe that Marxism is a scientific truth and that truth is not afraid of being criticized. Nor can it be overturned by criticism. Marxism was developed through struggle and actual practice. It is not that individual Marxist principles and viewpoints are not open to discussion. However, there is the question of basic position. This position is to develop Marxism by maintaining its system and also by uniting it with the realities. Faced with this solemn question, a Communist Party member should ask himself: Is what you write, say and stand for a Marxist thing? When something anti-Marxist comes forth, do you take it calmly and chime in? Or do you step forward bravely and defend the purity of Marxism?

Our struggle needs Marxism. Many of our experiences and questions since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee have required analysis and demonstration with Marxism. In the glorious ideology of socialist construction with Chinese characteristics, the 12th Party Congress has given us another important subject for the study and development of Marxism. However, for a long time, our comrades have lacked devotion and interest in studying the actual question of socialism. Instead, they have enthusiastically propagandized what is called humanitarianism, the theory of human nature, "the value of man" and the idea that "the man is the goal," etc., etc.. Some have proposed to treat the study of the question of socialist "alienation" as an "important current theoretical and practical subject." There is a book entitled, "Man Is the

Starting Point of Marxism." The word "Man" on the cover is written in boldface letters to draw attention. Actually, the title itself is sufficient to draw attention. However, comrades who have conscientiously studied the writings of Marx and Engels will find out that it has not only distorted but also polluted Marxism. How many young men lacking a general knowledge of Marxism were once confused by this type of "fashionable" theory! From 1980 to 1981, expressions of so-called "holding different political viewpoints" appeared among college students, and some of these ideas were taken from related theoretical writings. We can see, therefore, that this type of spiritual contamination really cannot be taken lightly and that the education of the masses, especially of youths on the basic knowledge of Marxism is indeed very urgent and very important.

Of course, after the oppressive and confined atmosphere of the ruling period of the "gang of four" was broken on the ideological front, the situation has become lively in the last few years under the direction and guidance of the correct ideological line. A great deal of work has been done, hard and diligent labor has expanded and a group of outstanding products has appeared in the areas of literature and art, Marxist theory, education, journalism, publications, radio and television and mass culture. They have demonstrated an active influence in the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization and of all socialist modernization. This is a welcome situation. However, the problem of ideological confusion, appearing within a certain scope, is serious and the circumstances are also intricate and complex. They must be concretely analyzed, differentiated and handled accordingly. They cannot be all treated as the same. However, our attitude must be firm, our banner must be clear-cut and we must actively utilize our weapons of criticism and self-criticism to stop the spread of spiritual contamination.

### 3. Propaganda must be firmly carried out and culture must be widely promoted.

If we are to have results in our propaganda work, we must open the channels and firmly carry it out down to the basic levels. Working at the top alone, writing articles and sending out documents and materials are not enough. There must be legs working down below. SEMIMONTHLY TALKS has developed more than 100 correspondents and solved the problem of the legs. With more than 100 pairs of legs, the publication has come alive. This is true with a publication and it is also true with mass propaganda work. For propaganda work to be firmly carried out down to the basic levels, it must rely on organizations at the basic levels, and it also requires the establishment of an army of correspondents and reporters. This army either has been or is being established in many places. Places where it has not been established must take hold and go ahead with its establishment. With the establishment of this army, propaganda work will have its legs and will be carried out firmly down to the basic levels.

The popularization of cultural education is foundation-building work, whether it is for the four modernizations construction or Marxist propaganda education, and it is an extremely important matter. The problems of increased illiteracy, the decrease in the school enrollment rate, the large number of child dropouts, especially in the far border mountain and grazing regions, the poor quality and extreme shortage of teachers and the old and shabby primary school buildings at the commune level and below with some damaged ones not even being repaired

must be corrected as rapidly as possible. After his recent visit to Shannxi, Neimeng, Gansu and Qinghai, Comrade Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028] pointed out that the problem of developing primary- and middle-school education and teachers is extremely serious. He said that we must take hold of teacher training. From middle level to high level and from countries in the provinces to those in the special regions, teacher education must be the top priority. This is holding the "buffalo by its nose." If the whole country pays attention to this matter, there will be great hope for education.

#### 4. Talk about the work of the SEMIMONTHLY TALKS.

SEMIMONTHLY TALKS is a current policy publication entrusted to the XINHUA News Agency by the Organization Department of the Central Committee. Its principal readers are the basic-level cadres in the mines, plants, enterprises, rural areas, army units and schools. Its principal tasks are to publicize the party line, principles and policies, respond to questions of popular concern and carry out situation education and policy education of the cadres and masses. It contains good materials for ideological and political work at the basic levels. Its audience is very large. Our purpose in developing this publication is to occupy the ideological front of the cities and rural areas. Our engagement in the construction of the two civilizations must be based on unifying the ideology of the cadres and masses under the party line, principles and policies and under the four basic principles so that they will maintain ideological and political unanimity with the party Central Committee. This of course requires a great deal of work by leaders at various levels. SEMIMONTHLY TALKS can have a very important impact in this area. When properly done, each magazine is a propagandist and a reporter whom one does not meet. We hope that all of us and the propaganda departments of various party levels will make a joint effort to work on and use this publication properly.

At present, the tasks on the ideological and propaganda front are very heavy. Our various newspapers and periodicals and radio and television stations all should make an effort to carry out the propaganda work properly and arouse the spirit of the masses of people to engage in the four modernizations with one heart and one mind in accordance with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the deployment of the party Central Committee. The propaganda departments of various levels of party committees must pay attention to the use of newspapers and periodicals and develop their impact in ideological and political work. A maximum effort must be made to expand the scope and volume of distribution of a policy publication on current events like SEMIMONTHLY TALKS which meets the needs of the basic levels and is welcomed by the readers. This will add a great deal of strength to our ideological and political work.

Comrades of the editorial department tell me that the current distribution is very unbalanced. More than 6,000 copies are distributed to some countries while others receive only 200 to 300 copies or, in some cases, even less than 100 copies. In some cases, a special region distributes 20,000 to 30,000 copies and in the large ones nearly 50,000 copies. Some places distribute much fewer copies. In terms of the whole country, a very large number of the production brigades and zirancun [literally, natural villages or native villages] still do not have SEMIMONTHLY TALKS, which means that this publication

developed for the basic level has not yet reached the most basic rural level. It seems that the main reason is that many people still do not know or do not understand SEMIMONTHLY TALKS. Many people still do not recognize the "true face of Lushan Mountain" of SEMIMONTHLY TALKS. This requires more propaganda work on our part, and we should also adopt some corresponding measures in distribution. The potential distribution of SEMIMONTHLY TALKS is still very large. If the various levels of leadership give their attention, the propaganda departments and the postal and telegraph departments have the strength of coordination and our reporters do more work, the distribution of the SEMIMONTHLY TALKS can be increased on still a larger scale. This is not a problem of the distribution of a magazine. It is the need for propaganda work.

As far as SEMIMONTHLY TALKS itself is concerned, it must be further improved. The editorial department must make greater efforts to improve the quality of the publication. The spirit of the party Central Committee must be publicized correctly and in a timely manner, and the principles and policies of the party must be publicized solemnly and conscientiously. At the same [time], the ideas of the readers must be listened to widely. Propaganda must relate theory with reality. Every effort must be made so that the writing will have greater persuasiveness and infectiousness. It must be more lively, penetrating and pungent. There should be greater unification of ideology, knowledge and interest. The publication should receive a greater welcome by the readers. In this connection, the propaganda departments of various levels of party committees and reporters in various areas should give greater support to the publication and be more concerned with it so that it will have a greater influence and demonstrate a greater impact among the readers at the basic levels.

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CSO: 4005/171

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RENMIN RIBAO ON ERRORS IN STUDYING ALIENATION

HK151241 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Dec 83 p 5

[Article by Wu Liping [0702 7812 1627]: "Directional Errors in the Study of the Issue of Alienation"]

[Text] "Alienation" as a philosophical concept first appeared in classical German Philosophy. In an initial period, Marx had used this philosophical concept to expound his economic theory and criticize the capitalist society. However, some bourgeois "scholars" in the West now take the study of the alienation issue as a means of opposing Marxism. In recent years, the study of the alienation issue has become a popular topic among theorists in our country. One comrade said in his article that the study of the alienation issue "is an important task in current theoretical studies and practice." He holds that reforms must be explained through the viewpoint of overcoming "alienation" because in the development of socialism, alien forces constantly emerge in the activities of the main body of society. To discuss the question of alienation in this way not only fails to help people acquire a correct understanding of, and fails to help people solve, the current problems of the socialist society, but can lead people to become skeptical of and negate socialism, so that people could lose confidence in the future of socialism and communism and feel that socialism is as hopeless as capitalism. This is a directional error in the study of the alienation issue.

The Distinction Between Marxism and Marx' Thoughts of the Initial Period Must Not Be Blurred

Concerning the theory of alienation, that article says: "In his 'Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844,' Marx elaborated on the idea of the 'alienation of labor.' Later, he developed this idea into the surplus value theory. This is clearly explained in 'Das Kapital.' It is groundless to say that Marx discarded the concept of 'alienation' in a later period." This view is not compatible with facts. It exaggerates the position and role of the concept of alienation in Marxist theory, and also blurs the distinction between Marxism and Marx' thoughts of the initial period. Practically, it negates Marx' revolutionary change in which he freed himself from the influence of humanism [ren dao zhu yi 0086 6670 0031 5030] and acquired the scientific communist world outlook.

The formation of Marxism was a gradual process. Marx ideology underwent a process of development from being immature to attaining maturity. True, in his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," (which will be abbreviated below to the "Manuscripts"). Marx did elaborate on the idea of "alienation of labor" and thus criticize capitalism. However, at that time, even the mere "first document embodying the germination of talent in a new world outlook,"<sup>1</sup> namely, "On Feuerbach's Outline," had not yet appeared; Marx' world outlook was still influenced by Feuerbach's humanism, and naturally, his idea of "alienation of labor" could not be completely freed from the limitations of the idealist historical outlook. After he had written the "Manuscripts," he and Engels still held the banner of "realistic humanism in their work: "The Holy Family." It was in 1845 that Marx completely broke away from Feuerbach's humanism. At that time, in "The German Ideology," he and Engels not only criticized the "German theorists'" ideology of that time, but also criticized the idealism embodied in Feuerbach's humanism with regard to historical outlook. They said: "When Feuerbach is a materialist, history is not within his sight; when he examines history, he is surely not a materialist."<sup>2</sup> Thus, with regard to historical outlook, they drew a clear line of distinction between themselves and humanism and based themselves completely on historical materialism.

In "The German Ideology," Marx and Engels no longer proceeded from "alienation of labor," which was based on "human nature," but proceeded from "individuals in the real world" and "the conditions of their material livelihood." They no longer "turned the question of the origin of private property into a question of the relationship between alienation of labor and human development,"<sup>3</sup> as they did in the "Manuscripts"; but they "interpreted things according to their real nature and origin."<sup>4</sup> They said: "Until now production tools have been taken as our starting point. This shows that private ownership will inevitably appear in some stage of industrial development."<sup>5</sup> They also said: "With the appropriation of the total productive forces through united individuals, private property ceases to exist."<sup>6</sup> Therefore, in the ideological process of their exposition of communism, they gave up the ideas that private ownership arose from "human nature" via "alienated labor," and that "communism is the positive sublation of private property or of man's self-alienation,"<sup>7</sup> and is man's "restoration of himself. Instead, they held that private ownership inevitably arises in some stage of development of the productive forces and will inevitably die out in some further stage of development of the productive forces. Their concept of communism was no longer "a consummated form of naturalism, equivalent to humanism," or "a consummated form of humanism, equivalent to naturalism"; instead, it is an inevitable result of the development of productive forces. Therefore, "the organization of communism is essentially economic."<sup>8</sup>

Here, Marx and Engels criticized the "philosophers" for considering the entire social development process as a process of "man's" development. They said: "Individuals who are no longer subjected to the division of labor have been conceived by the philosophers as an ideal under the name of "man." They have grasped the whole process, which we described, as the evolutionary process of "man," so at every historical stage "man" was substituted for individuals and presented as the motive force of history. The whole process was seen as a process of the self-alienation of "man," essentially because the average



individual of the later stage was always foisted on the earlier stage and the consciousness of a later period was imposed on the individuals of an earlier one. Through this inversion, which from the beginning has been an abstraction of the actual conditions, it was possible to transform all history into an evolutionary process of consciousness."<sup>9</sup> This quotation very clearly shows that the so-called "alienation" theory embodies an idealist essence proceeding from "consciousness." Because the "alienation of labor" in the "Manuscripts" means some self-alienation in "human nature," it is not completely free, at least in form, from this "inversion." If this "inversion" were not completely abandoned, not only would it be impossible to discover the surplus value theory, but the materialist historical outlook would not have been established.

Therefore, in "The German Ideology," not only did Marx and Engels refrain from using such humanist "philosophical terms" such as "human nature," "genus," and so on, but when they mentioned "alienation," they particularly remarked: "in the terms easily comprehensible to the philosophers,"<sup>10</sup> and, "if we continue to use this philosophical term for the time being,"<sup>11</sup> so as to show that they began to draw a clear line of distinction between themselves on one side and humanism and the concept of alienation on the other. Subsequently, over more than a decade, Marx almost never used the concept of "alienation" any more.

Later, Marx explained this revolutionary change in world outlook in the introduction to "a critique of political economy." He said: In the spring of 1845, when Engels was also living in Brussels, "we resolved to jointly study the conflict between our views and those of the German philosophical ideological system; actually, we were going to purge our former philosophical beliefs."<sup>12</sup> Here, Marx did not want to obscure this revolutionary change in the world outlook of Engels and himself. Instead, he wanted to openly declare this change so that there would be no more misunderstandings. Of course, their revolutionary change was not accidental. Earlier on, in the two articles: "Introduction to a Critique of Hegelian Philosophy" and "On the Jewish Question," published in "German-French Annals," they had begun to study the material prerequisites of real-world society in the light of experience, and therefore had "opened up a road to the materialist world outlook."<sup>13</sup> "However, because all this was then still expressed in philosophical terms, therefore, some customarily used philosophical terms appearing there, such as 'human nature,' 'genus,' and so on, furnished an opportunity for the German theorists to misinterpret the real ideological process and to suppose that all that is said here is merely a mended form of their worn-out theoretical coat."<sup>14</sup> Even in "philosophical terminology," Marx also wanted to draw a clear line of distinction between himself and humanism, precisely because he did not want to give any more "opportunity" for people to deny the revolutionary change in the world outlook of Engels and himself.

The surplus value theory was the result of Marx' application of the materialist historical outlook to study capitalist production relations. When he put forth this theory in "A Critique of Political Economy," which was written by him in 1857 and 1858 and was the earliest draft of "Das Kapital," he did not

use "alienation of labor" to explain the appearance of private ownership, but he demonstrated that capitalist private ownership gave rise to "alienation of labor." He wrote a minor subhead on his draft: "With the Development of Capital, the Conditions of Labor Were Alienated From Labor."<sup>15</sup> Thus, the idea of "alienation of labor" in the "Manuscripts" were reversed. Later, when Marx used the term "alienation" on several occasions in "Das Kapital," he was merely using it as a term easily comprehensible to the philosophers to describe the antagonistic relationship between workers' labor and capital in capitalist production. Here, the concepts of "self-alienation" and "restoration" pertaining to "human nature" as in the "Manuscripts" no longer held, because first, instead of proceeding from the "alienation of labor" to explain questions, "Das Kapital" proceeded from the analysis of commodities<sup>16</sup> and from capitalist production relations; and second, communism is not the "positive sublation of man's self-alienation" or some kind of "restoration," but is the inevitable result of the development of the commodity economy. Therefore, the entire analysis was to deal with the process of development of self-conflicting movements in commodity production, instead of dealing with "the process of man's self-alienation." The discovery of the surplus value theory also did not confirm the humanist "alienation theory." Actually, it is rightly described by Lenin's remark: "Since the appearance of 'Das Kapital,' the materialist historical outlook is no longer an assumed principle, but has become an explained one."<sup>17</sup> Moreover, in the book entitled "Wages, Prices, and Profits," written 2 years before the publication of Volume 1 of "Das Kapital," Marx basically did not use the concept of "alienation"; he only used the scientific method of mathematical calculation to similarly explain the essence of capitalist production, that is, in the production process, after purchasing labor power, the capitalists can gratuitously possess the workers' surplus labor. His conclusion is not that workers should put an end to "alienation of labor"; it is that the working class should write on its own banner this revolutionary slogan: "end the wage labor system!"<sup>18</sup> Thus, it can be seen that Marx did not develop the idea of "alienation of labor" into the surplus value theory; instead, under the guidance of the materialist historical outlook, Marx created the surplus value theory and thus negated the "alienation of labor" theory of the initial period; the concept of alienation employed by Marx is no longer the initial concept of self-alienation pertaining to "human nature," and it does not occupy an important position in the surplus value theory.

In "Das Kapital," using his own unique analytical ability, Marx established an unprecedented milestone of human history, that of using the materialist historical outlook. Only according to the world outlook of those "German theorists" criticized by Marx, can the entire objective analysis of the movements of commodities, money, capital, surplus value, and so on, be included in the concept of "alienation," so that the entire process of development of the commodity economy is turned into a self-alienation process pertaining to "human nature," so that it may once again be declared that all that is said in "Das Kapital" "is merely a mended form of their worn-out theoretical coat." Today, some of our comrades also obstinately adhere to the "alienation" theory, treating some immature idea, which Marx had already denounced, as the essence of Marxism. Not only does this amount to picking up phrases from the "German theorists" and passing them off as one's own, but this will inevitably lead to negating the entire history of development of Marxism dating from Marx' discovery of the materialist historical outlook. This is surely a retrogression in the work of the theoretical study of Marxism.

The Problems Existing in Our Society at the Present Stage Must Not Be Viewed as 'Socialist Alienation'

Concerning the realm of practice, the article holds that "acknowledging socialist humanism and opposing alienation are two sides of a coin," that "the erroneous criticism of humanism and the human nature theory in the past" "led to grave consequences," and that at present, we must "affirm man's value, acknowledge that man "is the goal of all our work," and overcome "socialist alienation." This view is not compatible with the historical facts since the founding of the PRC and cannot help solve any problems related to the current building of socialist spiritual and material civilization. On the contrary, it will only blur the essential differences between socialism and capitalism and cause people to misjudge our country's current political situation and trend of development and to become skeptical of, or even negate our cause of socialism.

The article views the savage and inhuman feudal fascism practiced by the "gang of four" as a grave consequence of criticizing "humanism and the human nature theory." This is inappropriate, because fascism is not absolutely incompatible with humanism and the human nature theory. For example, Nietzsche's philosophy about superior human beings, by virtue of its discussion of "human instinct," formed the basis for the fascists' creation of public opinion for massacring "inferior races." Moreover, bourgeois humanists have never been merciful toward their own enemies. We must not imagine that they will be equally "merciful" to everyone. In history and in reality, many bourgeois "pastors" who trumpeted "humanism" have often acted as "executioners" in cruelly suppressing the peoples' revolutionary struggles. Has this been a rare phenomenon? Only the materialist historical outlook will never be used by any fascists, because it tells us that whether some people are members of the exploited or the exploiters, whether they are good or bad, whether some nation is advanced or backward, and so on, are not determined by "human nature," but are the results of certain social relations. Problems can be basically solved only by carrying out social revolution and changing "the entirety of all social relations," and some specific productive forces constitute the prerequisite for this solution. Therefore, the aim of socialist revolution is to eliminate systems of exploitation and private ownership, and not merely to launch personal attacks against reactionary classes or elements. In discussing "regulation of prison labor" in "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx said that though it is a "petty" demand in a general workers' program, "in any case, it should have been clearly stated that for fear of competition, the workers absolutely do not want to allow ordinary criminals to be treated like beasts; in particular, they do not want them to be deprived of productive labor, which is their sole corrective. This was surely the least one might have expected from socialists."<sup>19</sup>

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" failed to do "the least one might have expected" from socialists, not because they verbally criticized humanism and the human nature theory, but because they basically are not socialists with the materialist historical outlook.

The article says: "Man is the goal of our building of socialist material and spiritual civilization, and is also the goal of all our work. Production itself is not the goal. In the past, many comrades have forgotten this point." Here,

the statement that "man is the goal" seems to be a great discovery. However, who are those "many comrades" who have forgotten this point? Probably, many comrades have not forgotten that "man is the goal," but have forgotten that their own work should aim to enhance the interests of the masses and not themselves. Here, we obviously cannot solve the problem by abstractly talking about "man being the goal," because according to this slogan, anyone can regard himself as the goal, and it can be claimed that things are being done for man's sake even if all is done for oneself or done for the sake of some small clique on that pretext. Therefore, this slogan absolutely can be used by any extreme individualists. Marx never objected to talking about "man," but instead of advocating discussing man in abstract terms, he advocated discussing the specific man, that is, man in the context of certain social relations. Marx' different comments on man before and after the establishment of the materials historical outlook should be taken by us as reference. In the "Manuscripts," he said: "In Ricardo's view, man is petty, whereas products are everything";<sup>20</sup> and, "he was unconcerned about man." However, in Volume 3 of "Das Kapital," he said that Ricardo was criticized "for paying attention to the development of productive forces alone at the expense of 'man' studying capitalist production, caring nothing about how many people or how much capital value were sacrificed in this development. Actually, this is the most brilliant feature of his theory," because "this precisely demonstrates his profound understanding of the conditions of capitalist production."<sup>21</sup> Marx' ideology did not stop at an abstract discussion of "man." Instead, he discussed the social relations in which man finds himself and grasped the essence of man in relation to "the entirety of all social relations." This was precisely the most brilliant feature of his theory. Moreover, Marxism is superior to utopian socialism not because it proclaims that "man is the goal," but because it reveals the material means of emancipating all mankind, so that socialism changed from utopia into a science. If we set the goal against the means and stress the goal at the expense of the means to the goal, or if we only have some totally unrealistic means though a grandiose goal has been put forth, then, even if our motive is excellent, we can at most air some beautiful empty talk. At present, in talking about man, we should consider "man" in the context of some specific social relations. We should distinguish supporters of socialism from those who oppose it, safeguard the interests of the working class and the broadest masses of people, and deal with elements who are hostile to the socialist system or who gravely endanger public security. Through the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization, we should satisfy the ever-increasing material and spiritual needs of the masses of people, and try our best to fully develop their wisdom and abilities. If, instead of discussing questions in this way, we abstractly preach "man being the goal" and "man's value," then, not only can we not promote the gradual improvement of the material and spiritual life of the masses of people, but, on the contrary, this view will become a pretext sought after by certain extreme individualists. Thus, the Marxist's basic aim of wholeheartedly working for the interests of the broad masses of people will only be blurred.

The article mentions the "many foolish acts" in our economic construction due to our lack of experience, the change of the people's public servants into "the people's masters" "due to our lack of perfect democracy and of a perfect legal system," the "personality cult," and so on; and it attributes all this to "socialist alienation." Although it states that "socialist alienation is

basically different from capitalist alienation," this is precisely the most crucial question. If we acknowledge that the root of capitalist alienation lies in capitalist private ownership, then, what is the root of "socialist alienation" which differs from capitalist alienation? The article answers: "the root of alienation does not lie in the socialist system, but in problems of our specific systems and other aspects." But the article does not state what the root of these problems is. However, people can certainly discover the answer from its explanation of the causes of the so-called "socialist alienation." The article holds: "because we lacked experience and did not understand socialist construction which is a realm of necessity, we performed many foolish acts in the past. Consequently, we ate our own bitter fruit--we suffered from alienation in the economic realm." It is easy to see that it regards all cognitive errors as "socialist alienation." Obviously, the kind of alienation discussed here basically does not fit in with even the concept of alienation used by Marx in the initial period. According to this concept, which is related to capitalist private ownership, "the positive sublation of private property" "is the positive sublation of all alienation."<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, socialist construction as a realm of necessity cannot be fully understood even when it has developed into the higher stages of communism. Marx said: "Socialized men, in their capacity as associated producers, will rationally regulate the material interchange between themselves and nature, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by the blind forces of nature. This interchange will be carried out with the minimum consumption of resources and under conditions most worthy of, and appropriate to their human nature. But it nonetheless will still remain a realm of necessity."<sup>23</sup> The article equates "alienation" to the committing of mistakes in the necessary process of cognition, thereby completely changing the meaning of the concept of "alienation" used by Marx. The article assigns the following definition to "alienation": "What is called 'alienation' means that in the process of the main body's development, its opposite arises by virtue of its own activities; then, this opposite, as an external and alien force, turns against the main body to oppose or dominate it." According to this definition, the main body involved in this "socialist alienation" can only be interpreted as the socialist system itself, and not "our specific systems and other aspects" which give rise to an opposite to oppose themselves. By inference, only by changing the socialist system, as the main body, can we overcome the problems associated with the so-called "alienation," which exist in our society at the present stage. If so, the essential differences between socialism and capitalism vanish completely. Then, what is the use of building socialist material and spiritual civilization? Therefore, even if the article was written out of the best of intentions, the inevitable erroneous conclusion derived from its viewpoints cannot be changed in the slightest degree.

The article also errs in explaining our country's systems reform as the overcoming of "socialist alienation." We do not deny that there are still many defects in some specific systems currently practiced by our party and our state, and our society has a dark side in certain aspects. However, the existence of these problems cannot be explained by arbitrarily attributing them to "socialist alienation," and these problems cannot be overcome by "opposing all forms of alienation." They can be solved only by concretely analyzing our country's actual circumstances under the guidance of Marxism. In 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping

said: "The main defects of our cadre system and the leadership system of our party and the state are: bureaucracy, overconcentration of power, and the existence of the patriarchal system, the system of lifelong posts for leading cadres, and various forms of privileges."<sup>24</sup> And these defects "to various extents embody feudal characteristics."<sup>25</sup> Moreover, for over a century, our country had been a semi-feudal, semi-colonial society. Feudal ideologies are sometimes interwoven and integrated with capitalist and colonial slavish ideologies. Recently, because of increases in international contacts, our country has been affected by decadent foreign bourgeois ideologies and life styles. The phenomenon of worshipping foreign things and fawning on foreigners has appeared and will continue to intensify in the future."<sup>26</sup> Therefore, his conclusion was: "We should now clearly set forth the task of continuing to eliminate the remaining influences of feudalism in the ideological and political arenas, and carry out a series of realistic reforms of our systems."<sup>27</sup> Moreover, "we must never slacken or neglect in the slightest degree the criticism of bourgeois ideology, petty-bourgeois ideology, extreme individualism, and anarchism."<sup>28</sup> The practice over the past 3 years has shown that the guiding principle put forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping is a Marxist one which is compatible with our country's actual circumstances. At present, eliminating the remaining influences of feudalism and preventing the invasion of bourgeois ideology are still major questions which we must continue to study in depth and resolve. If we disregard these obvious facts, take the stand of abstract humanism, and preach the idea that the so-called "study of the alienation issue" and "overcoming and elimination of alienation" are of great significance, then, our young people will inevitably be induced to think that certain defects and undesirable phenomena currently existing in our socialist society arise not from the remaining influences of the old society and the invasion of foreign things, but from the socialist system itself. Then, they will not vigorously oppose remnants of feudalism or bourgeois ideology, but will lose confidence in the future of socialism and communism and feel that socialism is as hopeless as capitalism.

To sum up, in the theoretical arena, the "socialist alienation theory" blurs the distinction between Marx' early immature thoughts and Marxism, substituting the idealist historical outlook for the materialist historical outlook; and in practice, it obliterates the essential differences between socialism and capitalism, concealing the evil effects of the remaining influences of feudalism and of the invasion of bourgeois ideology. It reflects an erroneous tendency in current theoretical research. Under the guidance of the materialist historical outlook, we should hold high the banner of Marxism, eliminate this kind of spiritual pollution, and bring about a new situation in the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 208-209.
2. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 51.
3. Ibid, Vol 42, p 102.

4. Ibid, Vol 3, p 49.
5. Ibid, p 74.
6. Ibid, p 77.
7. Ibid, Vol 42, p 12.
8. Ibid, Vol 3, p 79.
9. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 77.
10. Ibid, p 39.
11. Ibid, p 316.
12. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 84.
13. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 261.
14. Ibid, pp 261-262.
15. Ibid, Vol 46, Part II, p 360.
16. "Das Kapital," Vol 1, p 5.
17. "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, p 122.
18. "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 204.
19. Ibid, Vol 3, p 25.
20. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 72.
21. "Das Kapital," Vol 3, p 288.
22. "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 121.
23. "Das Kapital," Vol 3, pp 926-927.
24. "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 287.
25. Ibid, p 294.
26. Ibid, pp 296-297.
27. Ibid, p 295.
28. Ibid, p 296.

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ZHOU YANG ON TIAN HAN'S LIFE, CONTRIBUTIONS

HK211222 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by Zhou Yang [0719 2254]: "An Outstanding Dramatist and a Singer of Our Time--In Commemoration of the 85th Birth Anniversary of Comrade Tian Han"]

[Text] This year is the 85th anniversary of the birth and the 15th anniversary of the death of Comrade Tian Han, China's outstanding proletarian cultural fighter, founder of the Chinese theater, forerunner of reform of traditional operas, author of the national anthem of the PRC and many other revolutionary songs, and poet. The Ministry of Culture of the PRC, the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the Chinese Dramatists' Association, and the Committee for Editing and Publishing Tian Han's Works will jointly hold a commemorative meeting and a "symposium on the study of Tian Han" in order to commemorate Comrade Tian Han's outstanding contributions to China's revolutionary literature and art movement, movies, music, and poetry. Cherishing the memory of Tian Han has great significance for giving an objective and fair evaluation to the life of Tian Han and the spiritual legacy left by him.

Comrade Tian Han was one of the famous cultural figures produced by the great May 4th Movement. The widespread [word indistinct] Marxism on Chinese soil has resulted in a great ideological emancipation movement in modern Chinese history. It has aroused the Chinese people and given birth to many people with lofty ideals, writers, and artists. Tian Han was such an outstanding representative figure at an early stage of the movement. In his early years, he plunged into the anti-imperialist, antifeudal new culture movement. He persistently explored along the roads of revolution and creation, where he finally met the CPC, accepted Marxism, and grew from a radical bourgeois democrat into a fine proletarian fighter.

As early as in the 1920's, Tian Han had already become famous in literary circles. He, Guo Moruo, and Zong Baihua jointly published the correspondence among themselves of their youth under the title of "Sanye Ji [The Three Leaves Collection]." People were attracted by their original and penetrating views and their literary talent. In his early years, he became a member of the "Shaonian Zhongguo Xuehui" [Young China Society]. They looked forward to the rebirth of old China. He was in touch with some of China's earliest communists and he wrote the preface to Comrade Zhang Wentian's translation of Oscar Wilde's "The Ballad of Reading Gaol." In addition, he was also one of the earliest translators of Shakespeare's works. During the May 4th Period, in literature, he was a sincere anti-imperialist, antifeudal patriot who comprehensively assimilated various Western literary



trends. He was inclined toward aestheticism for a time. Throughout his life, he had encountered countless frustrations and setbacks. In 1930, on the verge of his becoming a proletarian fighter from being a petit bourgeois writer, he wrote the "Wo Men De Zi Ji Pi Pan [Our Self-Criticism]." He had the courage to summarize and look squarely at the road he had taken; he criticized the bourgeois sentiments and romantic tendencies in himself, and he displayed confidence and a determination to enthusiastically acquire a proletarian world outlook. From then, on whether during the white terror period under KMT rule, during the war of resistance against Japan, or during the period of the revival and development of literature, art, and the theater after the founding of the New China, Comrade Tian Han always persisted in implementing the correct line, principles, and policies of the party and shouldered arduous tasks. He had the pure heart of a newborn baby and he was loyal to the party and the people. He feared neither difficulties nor setbacks. Under extremely difficult circumstances, he always displayed a persistent and dauntless will to fight and an indomitable revolutionary spirit. He hated evil like an enemy and he persistently fought against imperialism, feudalism, and the KMT reactionaries. In addition, he had the courage to overcome his mistakes and shortcomings. His selfless and fearless spirit is something hard to attain--hence, worthy of esteem. During the 10 years of internal disorder, Jiang Qing and her gang had run wild for some time. They mixed up black and white, confused right and wrong, and frenziedly persecuted Comrade Tian Han. However, history is always fair. Jiang Qing and her like were finally brought to a historic trial, whereas Comrade Tian Han's distinctive image of a proletarian cultural fighter will forever live in the memory of the people, and his immense contributions to China's new culture movement will be permanently put down in historical records.

Talking about Comrade Tian Han's contributions, we must first mention his immense historical contributions to Chinese drama. Classical operas and drama have a long and glorious history. The Yuan and Ming dynasties were a period of the development of drama and operas which shone through the ages. However, in modern times, Chinese drama and operas have declined. Stage play as a new form of drama did not emerge until very late. It began to emerge in the early 20th century. At that time, people called it "civilized drama." Both before and after the Revolution of 1911, it played a certain positive role in society. Later, because of its departure from the times and the people, it declined. Confronted with such difficulties, Comrade Tian Han and his comrades-in-arms opened up a new path for Chinese drama. His fine works include "An Evening in a Coffee Shop," "The Night a Tiger Was Caught," and so on. He founded the famous "Nanguo She [The South Society], organized performances, and united with and trained many people who had a talent for art. His works are permeated with a rich flavor of the times, a patriotic spirit, and revolutionary sentiments. They reflect the desires and the voice of the people and they have added to the influence of stage plays among the masses. His whole life was devoted to the development of stage plays. He fully deserves to be called one of the founders of the Chinese stage play movement. His fine representative works such as "The Death of a Famous Actress," "The Beautiful Ladies," "Guang Hanqing," and "Princess Wencheng" should be listed on a repertoire of Chinese dramas. In his creative works, particularly in those written in his remaining years, he strove to combine revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. He expressed

his profound living experience in his stage plays. In addition, he also fused his rich historical knowledge with his poetic talent and his bold and unrestrained imagination in his creative works. "Guan Han Ging" is a fine example. Comrade Tian Han had devoted all his energies to the development of Chinese stage plays! More than 60 years have elapsed since the day Comrade Tian Han began to be engaged in stage plays. To now, stage plays have yielded positive results on the soil of the motherland and have become an artistic force which unites millions of people. At this hour, how can we forget the immense contributions made by Tian Han and other people of the old generation who had opened up a new path for Chinese drama. How can we forget Comrade Ouyang Yuqian, Hong Shen, Xiong Foxi, and Ding Xilin? We should take them as examples and work with a will to create a new situation in socialist stage plays.

Comrade Tian Han was also a forerunner of the reform of Chinese operas. It is known to all that since the May 4th Movement, there have been representative figures of the bourgeoisie who showed contempt for and despised opera. In addition, even some revolutionary and advanced cultural workers also belittled opera to varying degrees. However, Comrade Tian Han had discovered a treasure in the art of Chinese opera and he saw the close ties between opera and the masses. He thought that advanced and revolutionary drama should never be without opera and that we should unite and work with opera workers. During the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Tian Han took the lead in doing this. He organized teams to perform stage plays. In addition, he had also organized several opera troupes in order to unite with the masses of opera actors and actresses to fight the war of resistance. He had written and adapted many operas in order to reform their forms and content. In this way, he transfused new blood into traditional opera.

Chinese opera has a long history. There are many kinds of operas and many operas have been written. They have great influence on the people in their hundreds of millions. In the early years of the founding of the PRC, the party and the people's government paid close attention and devoted efforts to reforming operas. A special organ, of which Comrade Tian Han was in charge, was established. It did much work. The reform of operas was, on the one hand, a democratic reform and, on the other, a socialist reform. The two were linked together and closely related to each other. The reform of operas constituted a tremendous change in the ideological sphere. By carrying out this reform, we sorted out the voluminous legacy of operas left over by history, made them meet the needs of the people in the new period, and made them gradually become an organic part of cultural construction in the socialist modernizations. The reform of operas included the reform of the literary language. In addition, it also included the reform of stagecraft and the reform of the music for operas. The complexity and difficulty of this reform were in a sense as great as those inherent in the reform of the Chinese characters. Comrade Zhou Enlai devoted much energy to it. As the principal leader in the reform of the operas and a practitioner, Comrade Tian Han called forth all his vigor, worked with doubled efforts, and earnestly practiced what he advocated. He resolutely implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and weeding through the old in order to bring forth the new" and the State Council's instructions concerning the reform of operas. He did much useful work in uniting the masses of opera workers. He respected the artists specialized in opera, trusted them, and relied on them. He was good at [words indistinct]. His friendship with the great masters of

opera such as Mei Lanfang, Zhou Xinfang, and Cheng Yanqiu was known to all and was praiseworthy. In addition to being busy with social activities and administrative work, he creatively adapted many fine works such as "The White Snake," "Xie Yaohuan," and "The West Chamber." In his own works, attention is paid to portraying the characters, and the songs are elegantly written. His works show his great artistic talent, and they have greatly increased the literary and artistic value of operas and dramas and raised their status. Today, Chinese opera takes on a new look. This is naturally a result of the party's leadership and the collective efforts made by the masses of opera workers. However, Comrade Tian Han's contributions should never be obliterated. At a time when we are evaluating the great achievements in Chinese opera and in our work in the literary and artistic fields, I regret to say that at present, backwardness, or even retrogression, still exist in opera work. This is completely out of keeping with the task of creating a new culture in the socialist modernizations.

Comrade Tian Han was our contemporary. Yet, he was also our senior. One of his strong points was that he was good at uniting with people. He was good at uniting with friends, comrades, and all the people who could be united. It could be said that he played an exemplary role in uniting our literary and art circles. Comrade Zhou Enlai once said: "Comrade Tian Han makes friends with people of all sorts in society. He cares for the aged artists, he is good at uniting with them, and he makes them approach and work for the party. This is one of his strong points." Whether among the people engaged in stage plays, opera, movies, or music or among other literary and art workers, he was good at establishing contact with the masses and good at uniting with them. He frequently listened to their opinions and voiced their aspirations. He was strict with himself but kind to people. He was broadminded and paid no attention to personal interests. He was concerned with the well-being and weal and woe of the people. He strove to recommend and promote promising young people. He reposed full confidence in his fellow workers and taught young people with skill and patience. He was a good teacher and a good friend, respected by all. His profound friendship with Nie Er, Xian Xinghai, and Zhang Shu despite the great differences in age was admired by people. As a poet and artist, Comrade Tian Han had a very distinctive character. The ancients said: "One's writings carry one's character." That means, all literary and artistic works are, without exception, expressions of the distinctive characters of the writers and artists. Comrade Mao Zedong paid close attention to character, distinguished between two types of characters—one constructive and the other destructive. Naturally, he encouraged the former. A constructive character is identical to and in keeping with the class character of the proletariat. To be sure, artistic creation is a complex form of spiritual labor and there may be contradictions between the personal character and the party character of an artist. A writer should regard as a principle the need to subordinate his personal character to his party character. Comrade Tian Han precisely did this. He always subordinated his personal character to his party character. Finally, he achieved a harmonious unity.

Today, when we are commemorating Comrade Tian Han, the "Collected Works of Tian Han" has been published. This is a good deed done by the Committee for Editing and Publishing Tian Han's Works and the Chinese Drama Publishing House.

This book is a crystallization of his arduous labor throughout his life. In addition, it is also a spiritual wealth of the Chinese people. The symposium on the study of Tian Han will be attended by 40 to 50 experts and scholars from various parts of the country. We hope, through the publication of the "Collected Works of Tian Han" and this symposium, that we can further implement the spirit of the principle of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" and the principle of seeking truth from facts and push forward the discussion and study of Comrade Tian Han's works. I believe that in the future, new achievements in this study will be successively made.

Comrade Tian Han has been gone from us for 15 years. We always cherish a profound memory of him. The party cherishes its fighters and the people respect their writers. In the history of modern Chinese literature and in the history of modern Chinese drama, Tian Han occupies an important place and has far-reaching and profound influence. We should inherit and carry forward his revolutionary spirit and the spiritual legacy left over by him. Let us hold even higher the banner of socialist literature and art and, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, implement the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and contribute our part to building a socialist spiritual civilization and creating a new situation in literature and art.

CSO: 4005/283

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RENMIN RIBAO ON IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL UNITY

OW192026 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1432 GMT 19 Dec 83

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO commentator: "Make Further Efforts To Bring About a High Degree of Ideological and Political Unity Throughout the Party"]

[Text] "The decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Party Rectification" has explicitly stipulated and profoundly expounded the tasks for the present party rectification. The first task is the achievement of ideological unity. "The decision" points out that "the achievement of ideological unity means making further efforts to bring about a high degree of ideological and political unity throughout the party and correcting all erroneous "left" and right tendencies that run counter to the four basic principles and to the party line that has been adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee." As this task is a fundamental step to strengthen the party's ideological and political building, to undertake it well is of great far-reaching significance to enhancing the Marxist understanding of the whole party, strengthening the party's unity, and implementing in a still better way the party's line, principles, and policies.

A high degree of ideological and political unity is the basic characteristic of a proletarian party as well as an important political symbol that makes a proletarian party different from other political parties. Only with the full achievement and maintenance of such a high degree of unity can a proletarian party become the strong core of leadership of the people and possess the great vitality and fighting power to overcome all difficulties and dangers. However, such a high degree of unity is not achieved spontaneously. It is achieved and kept in the course of struggle against various erroneous thinking or erroneous political tendencies in the party. Our party's maximum program is the realization of communism. All the revolutionary and constructive activities under our party leadership in various historical stages are the component parts of the communist movement as a whole in our country and are carried out under the guidance of Marxist and communist ideology. While class struggle still exists in the society at home and abroad, a struggle between Marxist-communist ideology and non-Marxist, nonproletarian ideology will inevitably exist on the ideological front. Such a struggle is going on not only in the society, but it is also going on to a various extent in the party. Because our inner-party life is subject to the corrosive influence of past and present bourgeois thinking and other [word indistinct] thinking, and because our party members are different

in social experience, ideological understanding, thinking method, and political awareness, it is inevitable that ideological and political contradictions and even "left" or right erroneous tendencies will occur in the party. Such a situation is particularly noticeable at a time of historical change. Our party simply relies on Marxist theories and its members' revolutionary consciousness and uses criticism and self-criticism as a sharp weapon to conduct active ideological struggle, constantly overcome these contradictions and erroneous tendencies, and achieve and keep a high degree of ideological and political unity throughout itself. The history of our party has proven over and over that the achievement and maintenance of such a high degree of unity will become a great material force that is the basic condition for winning victories in revolution and construction.

A high degree of ideological and political unity means unifying ideological understanding and political action on the basis of the party's fundamental Marxist principles and line, and ensuring that no party members, nor the cadres who are party members, deviate from these fundamental principles and line and go their own way. It means the same as maintaining political unity with the party Central Committee. The maintenance of political unity with the party Central Committee is a concentrated manifestation of a high degree of ideological and political unity throughout the party. In the present stage, the adherence to the four basic principles and the party's line, principles, and basic policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee to concentrate on socialist modernization is the political basis for the unity of the whole party.

The four basic principles, long persistently upheld by our party, are the foundation of our country, as well as the political basis of the Chinese people to succeed in building and developing socialism and constantly promoting all-round economic and social progress of the motherland after achieving national and social liberation. The core of the four basic principles is upholding the socialist road and party leadership. The "left" mistakes during and before the 10-year "Great Cultural Revolution" distorted the four basic principles and made China's socialist cause suffer a serious setback in the course of its development. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has made strenuous efforts to set things right. It has corrected the "leftist" distortion of the four basic principles and restored their scientific features. At the same time, it has sternly criticized the ideological trend of doubting and opposing the four basic principles fostered by a very small number of persons in the party and in society. It has repeatedly expounded the great significance of upholding the four basic principles in the new period in which we are undertaking socialist modernization. In his speech to a discussion meeting on the principles of the party's theoretical work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "All communists, particularly the party's ideological theoreticians, should never be allowed to waver even a little in this fundamental stand. If we waver in any of the four basic principles, we will shake the entire socialist cause and the modernization program." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 159) Facts over the last few years show that our party has always adhered to the four basic principles in theory and practice. The party Central Committee has restored the Marxist ideological, political and organizational line and formulated a series of important principles and basic policies. The principles and basic policies include:

The policy of firmly shifting the stress of the work of the party and the state to socialist modernization centering on economic construction and of sticking to socialist modernization under all circumstances in the future, except in a large-scale invasion by a foreign enemy;

The principle of opposing the viewpoint that class struggle should be expanded and the viewpoint that class struggle has died out, for class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society although it will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time;

The policy of building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the light of the realities of our modernization program and of reforming economic and political systems step by step under good leadership in an effort to perfect our socialist system;

The policy of doing what we are capable of to develop the national economy by taking into consideration China's realities, and of achieving economic modernization in various stages step by step;

The policy of long-term coexistence of the state economy, collective economy and individual workers' economy within certain limits under the condition that the system of public ownership of the means of production remains absolutely dominant;

The policy of ensuring the leading role of planned economy supplemented by market regulation;

In thinking and in deed, upholding the dual tactic for the new period of development of the socialist cause, that is, while opening up to the rest of the world and enlivening the domestic economy, firmly striking at the serious crimes that endanger socialism in the economic, political and cultural spheres;

The policy of energetically developing socialist democracy and law so that democracy can be institutionalized and codified into law;

The policy of striving to build socialist spiritual civilization while building material civilization so that more and more people in society will become moral and educated laborers with lofty ideas and a sense of discipline;

Raising the status and role of education, science and culture in socialist construction, intensifying the development of intellectual resources, and creating an atmosphere of respect for knowledge and intellectuals throughout society;

Abolishing the existing practice of lifetime tenure for cadres at leading positions and striving to make the ranks of our cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent; and

Strengthening the party's leadership and building the party into a strong core exercising leadership over socialist modernization; and so forth.

The formulation and execution of these lines, principles and basic policies of our party indicate that our party has set right its guiding ideology, our state has achieved a great historic change, and our socialist cause has returned to the track of healthy development. The "decision" points out: "the lines, principles and basic policies of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have been worked out by combining the four basic principles with the concrete practice under the present historical conditions, through the process of correcting "left" errors and combating right mistakes, and in compliance with requirements of socialist modernization. Having been proven correct in practice, they have won the wholehearted support of the masses of party members." This represents the foundation that generated these lines, principles and basic policies. It also indicates their intimate links and dialectical relationship with the four basic principles, and their correctness as proven by objective practice. What is known as "combining the four basic principles with the concrete practice under the present historical conditions" means that these lines, principles and basic policies represent the embodiment of the four basic principles under the new historical conditions, and their actual application, manifestation and development conform to law as well as the actual situation. Without the guidance of the four basic principles, there would not have been these correct lines, principles and basic policies; similarly, without the formulation and execution of these lines, principles and basic policies, the four basic principles would not have been upheld correctly and effectively under the new historical conditions. For this reason, they are closely related, inseparable and totally integrated. They collectively reflect the will and interest of the party and the people, and fully reflect the practical and scientific Marxist spirit, which opposes both "left" and right erroneous tendencies. Only if all the comrades of the party firmly adhere to the four basic principles in thinking and in deed and firmly uphold the lines, principles and basic policies adopted by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee can they fully attain and maintain unity with the party and be at one with the Central Committee on this basis, and can victorious development of the socialist cause be ensured. This is the political discipline every party organization and every party member must strictly follow as demanded by the party.

Thanks to the party's ideological education and the series of other highly effective work accomplished since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the ideological and political level of the majority of party members and party member-cadres has been conspicuously heightened. They have strived to adhere to the basic course of unifying the universal truth of Marxism with the actual work of China's modernization and have been able to follow the basic theories of Marxism and scientific socialism in deliberating and studying the experiences and lessons gained and learned from actual socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the republic, and have been aware of the need to uphold the four basic principles and the party's Marxist line. However, we must clearly realize that "left" and right erroneous tendencies still exist, and that they are obstacles that must be surmounted so that even greater ideological and political unity can be achieved within the party.



Certain party members and party member-cadres, deeply influenced and shackled by "left" ideology in the past, have yet to free themselves from these shackles or shift their viewpoint to that of following the Marxist line. These people continue to distort the four basic principles from their "left" viewpoint, and because they cannot bear to see the lines, principles and basic policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they resist them, feign compliance, openly reject them, or "even spread rumors and slanders to attack the series of principles and policies adopted since the crushing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, as running counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 152)

Certain party members and party member-cadres, unable to stand the test of historical setbacks or the inroads of capitalist ideas, have lost their confidence in the bright future of the socialist and communist cause. Proceeding from the right viewpoint, they have doubted and rejected the four basic principles, distorted and renounced the lines, principles and basic policies adopted by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and advocated bourgeois liberalization. Some have blindly praised and indiscriminately and uncritically, without any analysis, "imported" all types of philosophic, economic, social, political and literary and art ideas of the capitalist countries. Some have openly advertised ideas that run counter to Marxism and socialism on the issues of "alienation" and humanism. Although the concept of "alienation" was used by Marx in his works, the concept was primarily used to illustrate the antagonistic social relationship between labor and capital in a capitalist society. The term "alienation in labor" in the work "On Capital" was used by Marx to illustrate the exploitative nature of the capitalist employment system, showing that, because the means of production is in the hand of capitalists, labor becomes a commodity and the fruit of a worker's labor strengthens the alien force that opposes and rules him, and that the more he produces, the more he is exploited, and that, to eliminate this "alienation," the fundamental way is to overthrow completely the capitalists' exploitative system of employment through social revolution by the proletariat. However, instead of propagating the original meaning and fundamental viewpoint of Marx' concept of "alienation," and instead of propagating and fundamental historical fact that such "alienation" has been basically eliminated in our country through socialist revolution, eradication of the exploitative system and abolition of private ownership of the means of production, certain party members and party member-cadres on the ideological front have regarded "alienation" which is an exceptional historical phenomenon, as an abstract and lasting concept applicable to all stages of the development of human society, confused it with the commonly existing contradictions, maintaining that "alienation" exists in the ideological, political, and economical fields in a socialist society, and attempted to generalize and interpret the many contradictions in our life as well as the shortcomings and mistakes in our policies and work with "alienation." People with such a viewpoint actually hold that, in the course of its development, a socialist society will continue to generate an alien force and will never be able to shake it off. If this is true, will our socialist system not fall into a hopeless situation and never find a way out? Furthermore, if this is true, why is it necessary for us to emphasize repeatedly the need to uphold and improve the party's leadership?

Regarding humanism, Marxism maintains that human nature and humanism have their specific historical scopes and are invariably associated with certain classes or societies. Human needs, human values and human dignity change constantly with the development of social productivity, social changes and social progress in a continuous process of struggle, and their substance, form, level of attainment and other aspects also differ during the various stages of social development. There has never been any permanent and abstract human nature or humanism which transcends classes and history. However, instead of publicizing such basic Marxist viewpoints and studying the differences between socialist humanism and bourgeois humanism, some of our party members and party member-cadres engaged in ideological and cultural work ignore the realities of the socialist stage, the work of socialist revolution and construction, the common interests of all the people and the highest interests of social development and embark on publicizing abstract human nature and humanism, individual struggle and so-called self-value, self-preservation and self-development. In doing this, they are in fact leading people away from the socialist cause, which the people are struggling collectively to accomplish under the party's leadership, to pursue what is ultraindividualistic and egoistic. For this reason, the ideas which run counter to Marxism and socialism on the issue of "alienation" and humanism as well as the ideas of bourgeois liberalization appearing in other spheres are serious forms of spiritual pollution that can corrode the people's minds. In society, such spiritual pollution is in essence a right tendency characterized by the dissemination of corrupt and declining ideas of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes and the dissemination of distrust in the socialist and communist cause and party leadership.

Although the above-mentioned two erroneous ideological and political trends, the "left" and right ideological and political trends, have different origins and find expression in different ways, they are nonetheless interdependent and supplement and complement each other. Both are incompatible with the party's nature and program and the historical task it is undertaking. Both violate the four basic principles and the party's line, principles and fundamental policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Despite the fact that these two erroneous ideological and political trends exist among only a small number of party members and party-member cadres, we should in no way take their detrimental nature lightly and underestimate it. Should we fail to resolutely correct these trends and eradicate the ideological confusion they have caused inside and outside the party and allow them to develop unchecked, the party leadership will be adversely affected to a serious extent and the progress of our socialist modernization program will be gravely hindered. In the current party rectification the vast numbers of our party members and party-member cadres must wage an active ideological struggle against these "left" and right erroneous trends. While giving serious attention to criticizing and correcting "left" erroneous ideas and viewpoints and guarding against the recurrence of the previous "left" mistake of waging ruthless struggle and dealing merciless blows in the course of party rectification, we must pay particular attention to and place emphasis on solving the question of spiritual pollution, that is, the question of opposing and eliminating the influence and corrosion by reactionary, decadent bourgeois ideas. We must resolutely correct the right erroneous trend and organically combine the work of achieving ideological unity

and raising the level of Marxist knowledge with the work of eliminating spiritual pollution. Those party members and party-member cadres who have committed "left" or right mistakes must carry out conscientious and sincere self-criticism and make a real effort to correct their mistakes on the basis of heightening their understanding. As for the few who persist in their erroneous political stand and refuse to correct their mistakes, it is not only imperative to carry out serious criticism and ideological struggle against them but also to take disciplinary measures as necessary. Only in this way can we take a further step toward achieving and maintaining a high degree of ideological and political unity in the whole party and further increase our party's fighting capacity.

Persisting in achieving a high degree of ideological and political unity in the whole party and in maintaining political unity with the party Central Committee is in complete accord with fully respecting and giving scope to the enthusiasm and creativity of party organizations and party members. The Marxist line, principles and policies of the party have pointed out the correct direction and opened a broad avenue for party organizations at all levels and for the broad masses of party members to give scope to their enthusiasm and creativity. On the other hand, giving full scope to the revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity of party organizations at all levels and the broad masses of party members is a major condition for ensuring the correct implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. The two complement each other. Groundless is the concept that stressing the need of maintaining political unity with the party Central Committee would tie the party members' hands and would prevent them from giving scope to their enthusiasm and creativity. At any time and under any circumstance we must integrate the party's line, principles and policies with the concrete realities in our respective localities, departments and units. This is a fundamental principle of Mao Zedong Thought which has been consistently upheld by our party. The "decision" on party rectification contains an explicit stipulation in this regard. Our party has all along objected to the absolutely noncreative, formalist and dogmatist attitude of blindly copying and passing on the principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee and the instructions from higher authorities. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The living soul of Marxism lies in concrete analysis of the concrete situation. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought would have no vitality unless integrated with the actual situation. The responsibility of our leading cadres is to integrate the instructions of the CPC Central Committee and higher authorities with the actual situation in their respective units and to analyze and solve problems. They should not act as 'message centers' to simply copy and pass on instructions." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 113) But what merits our attention is that certain phenomena of simply copying and passing on instructions now still exist among some party organizations and leading party cadres when disseminating the guidelines of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, studying the documents on party rectification, and arranging for the work of party rectification. They do not conscientiously consider their actual work and actual ideological state, refrain from going deep among the masses to conduct investigation and study, and still lack any idea of what are the serious problems existing among the party members in their departments and units, what are the main problems to be solved in the current party rectification,

and what are the really feasible measures to be taken in order to make a success of party rectification. What they are doing is just to copy and relate the contents of the documents. This state of affairs must be changed quickly; otherwise, it will be very hard to ensure that the work of party rectification will not become perfunctory. We should deeply understand that acting as "message centers" to simply copy and pass on instructions is entirely incompatible with the ideological line of proceeding from reality in doing everything, integrating theory with practice, seeking truth from facts, and testing and developing truth in the course of practice. Also, it is not in conformity with the essence of the spirit of maintaining political unity with the party Central Committee. The process of integrating the party's line, principles, and policies with the concrete reality of a locality, a department, or a unit requires the adoption of a series of specific measures compatible with both the party Central Committee's principles and stipulations as well as the reality of the locality, department, or unit concerned on the basis of in-depth investigation and study of the real situation. Also needed is the solution of many concrete, actual problems in an independent and responsible way. Because of this, the process, in itself, is a creative work process. In the meantime, the party's line, principles and policies develop with the progress of the social practice of revolution and construction. Party organizations at all levels and all party members and party-member cadres have the historical duty to create new experience in practice so as to enrich and develop this line and these principles and policies. Carrying out this historical duty, advancing in accordance with Marxist dialectics, and making ceaseless efforts to create a new situation of the party's work in all fields and of the program of socialist modernization are precisely dynamic manifestations of the fact that they are taking practical action to show their persistence in achieving a high degree of ideological and political unity throughout the party and in maintaining political unity with the party Central Committee.

CSO: 4005/283

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MAO APPROACH TO DEVELOPING SOCIALISM CITED

HK281114 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Yang Yingbin [2799 2019 1755]: "Persist in Integrating Theory With Practice, Pay Attention to Solving Actual Problems--in Commemoration of the 90th Anniversary of the Birth of Comrade Mao Zedong"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great revolutionary of the proletariat as well as a great strategist and theorist. As the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong approaches, we cherish respectful feelings and recall the enormous historical feats that Comrade Mao Zedong performed for the Chinese revolution. At the 12th party congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said "the historical experiences of the 60 years of the party tell us that the fundamental reason behind the party's ability to lead the Chinese people in continuous victories is the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution. The greatest of the historical feats of Comrade Mao Zedong and others of the older generation of proletariat revolutionaries are their successes in achieving this integration." Comrade Mao Zedong is the most shining example.

#### I.

Even during the first Chinese revolutionary period Comrade Mao Zedong was carrying out enormous amounts of penetrating investigations and research into China's sociohistorical situation, the economic position and political ideologies of all the social classes and strata, and especially the situation of the Chinese peasants who make up the vast majority of China's population. Thus, he wrote "An Analysis of Each Class of Chinese Society," "An Investigative Report Into the Hunan Peasant Movement," and other glorious works, in which he analyzed questions of the nature of the democratic revolution of the Chinese bourgeoisie and clarified the motive force behind and the targets of the Chinese revolution and, in particular, solved the question of the peasants, the central question relating to the power of leadership among the Chinese proletariat. On this basis he creatively came up with the fundamental ideology behind China's new democratic revolution and pointed the direction of the Chinese revolution. After the failure of the first Chinese revolutionary war when the revolution was heading for disaster, Comrade Mao Zedong studiously assessed all the fighting experiences after the Nanchang uprising, including all armed uprisings and the establishment of revolutionary bases, in particular the establishment of the Jinfengshan revolutionary base, and thus proved conclusively the possibility and necessity

for Red political power in China and the setting up of armed peasants as a separate regime against the existing powers. As a result, he created the concept and idea that the Chinese revolution must take the revolutionary path of armed seizure of political power and the encirclement of towns by villages. This was a shining example and model of creative and truthful integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete facts surrounding the Chinese revolution. Later, during the war of resistance against Japan, the third Chinese revolutionary war, and during socialist improvements after the founding of new China, Comrade Mao Zedong always upheld the principle of beginning from the actual situation in China, the sociohistorical characteristics of China, and the actual situation relating to class relations and, on that basis, he integrated theory with practice and hence constantly solved a series of important questions relating to construction and the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution. In particular, his successes after the founding of new China in changing capitalist economics saw Marx and Lenin's beliefs about the peaceful sell-out of the capitalist class achieve realization in China as well as the change from a democratic revolution to a socialist revolution, while he enriched and developed the theories by Marx and Lenin concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This represented a glorious example of creative integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution. During his life, Comrade Mao Zedong's model actions such as these are too numerous to mention.

The Chinese revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party took Marxism as its guiding ideology, but the general principles of Marxism cannot provide readymade formulas for the revolution in any country; this was particularly true in China at the time, being a major Eastern country carrying out a revolution in a semi-colonial and semifeudal country. Thus, it was inevitable that many special and complex problems would arise. Hence, this required even greater skill at integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution. It required that one seek truth from facts, start out from reality, and link theory with practice in order to achieve this integration. It was the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong grasped this fundamental point so well and as a result brought it into realization that resulted in such enormous ideological contributions to the leading of the Chinese revolution and such deep development of the theories of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time this fundamental point also became a fundamental guiding ideology for Comrade Mao Zedong in his ideological and theoretical work. This fundamental ideology saw brilliant exposition in his works as early as "Oppose Capitalism," and later in "Discussion of Practice," "Discussion of Contradictions," as well as "Change Our Studies" and "Correct the Party Work Style," both written during party consolidation at Yanan, and "Oppose Party Stereotyped Writing." The viewpoints espoused in these works were and still are the correct guiding principle for the party's work in the ideological and theoretical frontlines.

## II.

The theories and practice which have emerged since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee represent a continuation and development under new historical conditions of this fundamental ideology of Comrade Mao Zedong and thus fully illustrates its incomparable might.

It was because the third plenary session upheld the fundamental principle of Marxism that practice is the only criterion for testing truth and because the session demand such guiding principles as ideological emancipation, positive use of one's mental capacities, the seeking of truth from facts, and unity, that all areas of work in the party were able to achieve enormous successes. It was only because the party once again established the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, starting out from reality, and linking theory with practice, that we were able, with enormous courage, to face reality, respect practice, and examine the positive and negative experiences that China had gained through many years of socialist development and answer and solve some remaining questions from a highly theoretical Marxist viewpoint. Thus, for example, such questions as how to correctly assess the historical experiences since the founding of new China, how to correctly analyze the lessons of the Cultural Revolution, and how to correctly assess Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position, and how to correctly understand Mao Zedong Thought, all of which are related to the future and destiny of China's socialist development as well as the future and the destiny of the entire party and all the people, were all answered and solved as a result of the correct guiding principles of the third plenary session. Furthermore, the answers and solutions to these important questions greatly promoted the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete reality of Chinese socialism as well as the development of the socialist cause. A very good model is the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." Not only is this an important political piece of work, it is also a major fruit of the party's ideological theories.

Under the guiding principles laid down by the third plenary session, the party was also quick to look to new situations, new problems, and new experiences which had emerged in the reality of the new period of socialist modernized construction and thus the party constantly assessed and examined these things, bringing up new viewpoints and carrying out new theoretical generalizations. The 10 important points of socialist modernized construction which correspond to the situation in China, mentioned in the "resolution" as well as the concrete program for opening up a new situation in socialist modernized construction drawn up by the party at the 12th National Congress, together represent a theoretical embodiment of these new viewpoints and new experiences and they have enormous power and are vigorously promoting the forward development of socialism in China. A very good example is the rural system of contract responsibilities which over the last few years has been increasingly understood and propagated. Under the guiding principles of the third plenary session our party made a timely assessment of the new creativity and new experiences of the peasant masses and thus sought out the contract responsibility system and hence quickly changed rural production development. This policy represented a panacea and the diversified forms of the contract responsibility system resulted in major reforms to the systems of management and administration in the rural cooperative economic organizations and this greatly increased the producers' enthusiasm and economic results while at the same time liberating the rural productive forces so that China's agriculture saw a change from a long period of stagnation to a period of thriving prosperity. The system is laying a new road for socialist agricultural development of a Chinese style and is providing new experiences to allow suitable levels of development between

production relations and productive forces in China, a country where agricultural production is not well-developed. This represents creative utilization and development of the Marxist principle that production relations must correspond with the development of productive forces. Other principles and [words indistinct] as reforms to industrial systems so as to make improvements to economic results the central theme, the introduction of the open-door policy, and the development of Hainan, as well as reforms to the leadership and cadre groups were and still are all carried out under the ideological and theoretical guidance of the third plenary session and are all based on reality and represent creative reforms which are powerfully promoting the practice of socialist modernized construction. In addition, they are also new developments of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under new historical conditions.

In conclusion, the enormous successes that we have had in the practice of socialist modernized construction since the third plenary session powerfully illustrates the enormous strength of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Because the correct ideological line has been upheld in theoretical and ideological work, and research and assessment of the historical experiences and lessons of China's socialist development has been constantly carried out, while research and solutions to new situations and new problems in China's socialist modernized construction have also been maintained, thus creatively producing new theoretical generalizations, the universal truth of Marxism has thus been even more closely integrated with the concrete reality of socialist modernized construction in China and hence Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought have seen new developments under new historical conditions. These new theoretical generalizations are a theoretical manifestation of the communist movement in this period of socialism in China and they illustrate the important guiding role that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought play in practice. It is in this area that the old generation of revolutionaries, especially Comrade Deng Xiaoping, have set up glorious models for us.

### III.

In assessing the practical experiences of socialist construction in China, especially the new experiences since the third plenary session, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed "that the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete reality of China must take its own road and thus we must construct socialism with Chinese characteristics and this is the fundamental conclusion drawn from the assessments of our many years of historical experiences." This "fundamental conclusion" represents the guiding ideology that the party must respect in ideological and political work as well as the fundamental task which we must fulfill; hence, it is both the starting point and the aim of all our ideological and theoretical work under the new historical conditions.

At the time when Marxism had just been born, Marx pointed out that "the extent to which theory achieves realization in a country depends on the extent to which the theory fulfills the needs of that country." Former "philosophers used different formulae to explain the world, but the point is to change the world." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 10, 19) Comrade Mao Zedong also constantly taught us that "we must sufficiently master and utilize the



theories of Marxism and the aim of mastery lies totally in the utilization. If you are able to utilize concepts of Marxism to explain one or two actual problems, then that is to be admired and you may consider yourself to have had some success. The greater the number, the more universal and the more penetrating the questions and problems that you solve, the greater your success." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 817) Marxism has always maintained that true theory is obtained through an evaluation of objective reality and that it can be proved through objective reality. Practice is the source of and motivation behind understanding and practice represents the changes to the objective world that we make after understanding the world. Theory can only originate from practice; it represents a test of practice and hence serves practice. The implementation of socialist modernized construction with Chinese characteristics represents the extremely active and far-reaching social practice of the 1 billion people of China and hence our ideological and theoretical work, especially ideological and literary and art work, should first and foremost studiously research and reflect this great social practice. The main thrust of our theoretical work should be to research and probe the various objective laws involved in the practice of socialist modernized construction with Chinese characteristics to pay particular attention to integrating theoretical and practical problems which arise out of the practice of socialist modernized construction in our province, working hard to probe and grasp the characteristics and laws of modernized construction in every sphere and every aspect in Guangdong. As far as literature and art are concerned, it should actively reflect the rich, varied, and ever forward-surging life of China's people in this great historical period and should accurately reflect the tremendous heroic courage of the Chinese people in vigorously developing China in order to realize the four modernizations. It should describe the heroic images of creators and changers while at the same time bringing out fresh regional characteristics so that literature and art may make great contributions to the construction of socialist spiritual and socialist material civilizations. This then is the main task of literary and art work. Naturally, we should not ignore research into fundamental theory nor the reflection of other themes.

In the several years since the third plenary session, an enormous amount of hard work has been done in this area by the theorists, artists and writers of our province and great successes have been achieved. This is illustrated by the rich number of scientific results and literary and art works selected recently from our province in the first awards for outstanding social scientific research results and the Lu Xun literary awards. For example, as far as theoretical research is concerned, research into reforms of the economic system, research into the construction of the special economic zones, research into the responsibility system in agricultural production, research into moral and ideological education of young people, and the construction of socialist spiritual civilization all have had an extremely good effect on the four modernizations in our province. Literary and art work has been very successful in terms of regional Guangdong themes and has been especially creative in terms of the revolutionary history of Guangdong Province and in the way it has worked to carry out patriotic education and education in revolutionary tradition. All of these achievements are very good and should be praised. However, social life is developing, socialism is developing, and the practice of modernized socialist construction

is also constantly developing and hence, our theoretical and literary work cannot satisfy the achievements of the past. Thus, these past achievements should be taken as a starting point, and we should face reality and throw ourselves into practice and constantly make greater efforts and contributions toward promoting socialist modernization in China and in our province and toward developing the theories of Marxism and ensuring the prosperity of socialist literature and art. This is especially true in the arena of theory, for at present there are many topics which await our investigation and assessment, such as the 12 items of economic research drawn up at the Guangdong Provincial Social Sciences Planning forum, which includes development of oil in Nanhai, research into economic development in Guangdong, research into questions relating to the special economic zones, research into the economies of Hong Kong and Macao, research into problems relating to Guangzhou, research into the strategic economic development of Hainan, research into the strategic development of the Zhujiang Delta, research into questions relating to Guangdong's external economics, research into reforms of the economic system in Guangdong, research into the population of Guangdong, research into Overseas Chinese economies, research into questions relating to market prices in Guangdong, and research into Guangdong's rural economies. When I recently went to one of the mountain counties in the province I came into contact with some questions and problems relating to the rural economy and I felt that these questions were in great need of investigation. One very up-to-date question is how to ensure that the open-door policy works favorably throughout the province. How should the economies of the mountain regions be developed in view of the open-door policy? It is vital that those comrades who work in theoretical fields carry out far-reaching investigations and research, assessing the experiences of the masses and providing us with both theoretical and practical answers to these questions. In addition to economic spheres, every other sphere also has its own new topics to be examined. As long as our theorists uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as their guide, constantly seek truth from facts, always start out from reality and integrate theory with practice, then we will be able to effectively and successfully answer and solve these various questions and problems, and make new contributions to socialist modernized construction in our province and throughout China. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "theoretical work must serve socialist modernized construction." (HONGQI, No 13, 1983, p 28) Today and in the future we must evaluate the value of theoretical research results and the quality of theoretical work by examining the extent to which they play a role in socialist modernized construction.

To ensure that theory serves socialist modernized construction, we must make great efforts to ensure that theorists carry out investigations and research and that artists and writers probe deeply into real life. Leaders at all levels on the ideological front should ensure that ever more and better conditions are set up to enable theorists and writers to investigate, research, and probe into real life. In this respect it is Comrade Mao Zedong who is the best example for us. The large quantity of work, all of which integrated theory with practice, was written on the basis of thorough investigations and research and a clear and deep understanding of social reality. Furthermore, these works have left us with a valuable and rich quantity of thought and method for carrying out Marxist investigations and research. It would be very valuable for our comrades working in the theoretical line to study and develop these methods and this thought.

For some time in the past spiritual pollution has been seen in some areas of theory and literature and art. Thus, a struggle to fight spiritual pollution has had to be developed. The main criterion for recognizing spiritual pollution is to see whether there are any signs of the corrosive ideology of the capitalist classes or the exploiting classes in some form or another and any signs of attitudes which display a lack of confidence in the socialist system and the leadership of the party. When eradicating spiritual pollution we must be clear to define our boundaries. Those comrades who have carried out spiritual pollution, or who have talked of "socialist alienation" or "self-expression," have done so, apart from any other reasons, because they have departed from the reality of socialist life and from the masses who are struggling in the front line of socialist modernized construction and they have not grasped the pulse of real life nor understood the aspirations and demands of the masses and have divorced theory from practice. Thus, by demanding that theorists and artists and writers face reality, carry out investigations and research and probe deeply into real life, researching and reflecting even more the real life of socialist modernized construction, we are ensuring better prevention and eradication of spiritual pollution. Furthermore, the eradication of spiritual pollution will allow us to develop theoretical research even better and make literature and art prosper. It will also produce more and better research results and creative works which serve socialist modernized construction.

The implementation of socialist modernized construction in a large European country such as ours is a truly glorious and yet also formidable creative process in world historical terms. As we commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of our dear Comrade Mao Zedong, those of our comrades working in ideological and theoretical fields must study and develop with even more determination the principles of seeking truth from facts, starting out from reality and integrating theory and practice and the spirit of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete reality of the Chinese revolution and construction, so as to make great contributions to the creative process of constructing a socialism with Chinese characteristics. This will be the best way to commemorate Comrade Mao Zedong.

CSO: 4005/283

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RECOLLECTION OF MAO IN LIBERATION WAR YEARS

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[Article by Yang Chengwu [2799 2052 2976]: "Chairman Mao Instructed Us To March Toward Suiyuan--In Commemoration of the 90th Anniversary of the Birth of Comrade Mao Zedong"]

[Text] On the days when we are solemnly commemorating the 90th anniversary of the birth of our great leader Comrade Mao Zedong, I have recalled, full of respect, the scenes of the past when Chairman Mao instructed us to march toward Suiyuan.

It was in the autumn of 1948, during a vital period when the Chinese people's liberation war was entering a stage of strategic, decisive engagement. The CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong summoned Comrade Nie Rongzhen and me to Xibaipo, the then seat of the CPC Central Committee, and personally assigned us the task of marching toward Suiyuan. This reception and the words he said then deeply instructed me. Though 35 years have already passed since then, Chairman Mao's voice and laughter, his insight as a strategist, his rare gifts and bold strategy in commanding the troops, and his glorious military thoughts are engraved deeply in my mind and are fresh in my memory even today.

At the end of July 1948, our section of the Shanxi-Chahaer-Hebei Field Army of the North China Military Region was successfully carrying out the Baobei battle in the area to the north of Baoding and had achieved the victory of wiping out an enemy brigade and seizing the area along the Dixing-Gaobeidian-Beihedian line. On 31 July, our troops received telegrams from the Central Military Commission and the North China Military Region ordering our troops to end the battle and move to areas in Yi County, Laiyuan, and Langya Shan to receive training together and to prepare to be assigned new fighting tasks. The telegrams also ordered me to immediately go to the site of the military region and then, together with Commander Nie Rongzhen, to go to the site of the central authorities to receive new tasks. After I reached Yanbao Village in Pingshan County--the site of the military region--Commander Nie told me that at that time, our army was planning to fight a decisive battle with the enemy in the northeast and that the Central Military Commission required us to pin down the enemy troops in north China and thus vigorously coordinate with the fighting in the northeast. He said: "Chairman Mao asked us to come over and have a talk with him."

I was very excited at Commander Nie Rongzhen's words. Since July 1946, when Chiang Kai-shek and his KMT launched a nationwide counterrevolutionary war, under the wise leadership and correct command of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong and with the vigorous support of the broad masses of the people, the PLA had conducted arduous and outstanding fighting. During the previous 2 years, it had repulsed the attack of millions of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary troops, wiped out the enemy's effective strength, and had not only succeeded in preserving the principal part of the liberated areas, but had also enabled itself to switch to launching counterattacks. By the end of 1947, the Chinese people's revolutionary war had already reached a historical turning point. Now, the liberation war had entered its third year and the Central Military Commission had decided to fight a strategic, decisive battle with the KMT troops in the northeast first and wipe out all the enemy there and quickly liberate the whole northeast area. What a heartening and encouraging situation!

On the morning of 3 August, I rode a horse and followed Commander Nie on a journey to the north along the Hutuo He and arrived at the site of the CPC Central Committee at Xibaipo, Pingshan County, Hebei. Vice Chairman Zhou first received us. He said: "At 1500 this afternoon, Chairman Mao and the comrades of the Secretariat will talk with you."

Comrade Nie took me to Chairman Mao's residence at 1500 sharp. The residence was a house with a penthouse connected to it. The penthouse was almost as simple as a cucumber trellis. It was supported by three pillars on each side, with reed mats on top as covering. The pillars on the left were built in the wall, while those on the right were outside the wall.

When we entered the penthouse, we saw that there was only a square table in the middle with four benches around it. Chairman Mao was sitting at the inner side of the table. On his left sat Vice Chairman Zhou and Commander-in-Chief Zhu, and on his right sat comrades Liu Shaoqi and Ren Bishi. Chairman Mao greeted us and told us to take our seats opposite him. He poured a cup of tea for each of us and then gave us a copy of a telegram and said, "read it first."

After he had read it, Commander Nie passed it to me. It was a telegram which the Central Military Commission had sent to the leaders of the Northeast Field Army on 22 July 1948 about what they were required to do and what they had to pay attention to in fighting at the battlefield in the northeast. In an inquiring tone, Chairman Mao asked us whether we had any opinions to give on this telegram and whether we agreed with it. We said that we completely agreed with it. Chairman Mao then handed a copy of another telegram to us. This was a telegram which the Central Military Commission had sent to the Northeast Field Army in reply to the army's telegram on its battle plan. The telegram clearly pointed out that in the northeast battlefield, we "must first seize Jinzhou and Tangshan and wholly or partly wipe out Fan Hanjie's corps."

When we had finished reading the telegram, Chairman Mao stood up and threw out two fingers and said in a strong Hunan brogue: The six columns of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei Field Army were at that time to be reorganized into the No II and No III corps of the North China Field Army. The No 3 and No 4 columns and a brigade of the No 2 column were to be formed into the No II Corps. This corps would command in a unified manner the local troops in Hebei, Rehe, and Chahar. Comrade Yang Dezhi was to be the commander of the corps, Comrade Luo Ruiqing was to be its political commissar, and Comrade Geng Biao was to be its chief of staff. The No 1 column, two brigades of the No 2 column, and the No 6 column would form into the No III Corps, which would command in a unified manner the

No 8 column in Shanxi and Suiyuan, the two cavalry divisions in Nei Monggol, and the local troops in western Shanxi. Comrade Yang Chengwu was to be the commander and, concurrently, the political commissar of the corps and Comrade Li Tianhuan was to be deputy political commissar. Chairman Mao lit a cigarette, inhaled deeply, and then continued: Your No III Corps has to get ready to march toward Suiyuan in order to seize the old nest of Fu Zuoyi, open up a new battlefield, and coordinate with the fighting in the northeast. Suiyuan is a place that Fu Zuoyi would surely come to rescue. You have to pin down Fu's principal force along the battle line between Beiping and Suiyuan and induce it to move toward Guisui so that all or most of the enemy troops in north China will not move along the Shanhaiguan Path.\* At the same time, the No II Corps is to go out to eastern Hebei to join the battle. A part of the corps is to fight at the battle line along Chengde and Beiping to coordinate with the fighting in the northeast and the other part is to conduct military actions on the battle line along Beiping and Zhangjiakou and coordinate with the fighting of your corps in Suiyuan. The No I Corps of Xu Xiangqian and Zhou Shidi is to continue to fight in Shanxi in order to deal with Nian Xishan. In this way, we will be able to ensure the victory of our troops in their battle in the northeast. Then, Chairman Mao looked at us for a while and asked: Could you finish making preparations in 20 days? Are there any difficulties? Have you anything to ask from us?

I immediately answered: "There are no difficulties and I pledge that we will fulfill the task assigned us by the CPC Central Committee."

Chairman Mao smiled and then said: "No, there are many difficulties in marching toward Suiyuan." He made a detailed analysis and pointed out that Suiyuan was Fu Zuoyi's old nest, an area ruled by him for about 20 years. In that area the KMT had made lots of deceptive propaganda and the masses of the people there knew little about the CPC and the PLA. Particularly, there was a serious shortage of grain supplies there. The difficulty in acquiring grain supplies was not an ordinary one and it was by no means easy to send grain to the front. Fu Zhuoyi's policy was to "leave no grass near the nest of a rabbit." This meant that he clung to the practice of strengthening defenses and clearing the fields. In the past, a part of the Shanxi-Chahaer-Hebei Field Army twice marched into eastern Suiyuan but failed to gain a foothold. The main reason was the shortage of food supplies. Chairman Mao earnestly said to me: "This is not like the past march you carried out in passing the Maoergai grassland. At that time you led a regiment in which there were only 2,000 people. Now, you lead a corps with four columns, in addition to the cavalry troops, the local armed force, and about 10,000 civilian workers, their numbers total more than 100,000. All of them have to be fed. Can we say that there are no difficulties?"

Looking upon difficulties strategically and attaching importance to difficulties tactically was an idea that Comrade Mao Zedong always held. He had analyzed the difficulties in detail and with thorough insight; this deeply instructed and moved me. What a large number of battles there were throughout the country that were to be planned by him, yet he had given very careful and satisfactory

\* Suiyuan was the name of an old province, which was merged into Nei Monggol Autonomous Region in 1954. Guisui was a city which is now called Hohhot.

consideration to every operation on various battlefields. Indeed, as Chairman Mao said, there were quite a few difficulties in marching toward Suiyuan. Chairman Mao roused us to pay sufficient attention to the difficulties and told us in addition that throughout Fu Zuoyi's life, Fu had only managed to set up two corps, which was all his capital. Fu would surely fight us to the bitter end if we wanted to wipe out his corps. At this point, Chairman Mao became very serious and said to me: "Oh Chengwu, if you want to have a foothold in Suiyuan, you must be prepared to suffer hunger for 3 consecutive days and to eat grass as food for 2 days thereafter."

Comrade Shaoqi took up the cue and said: "You have to be prepared to suffer hunger for 4 consecutive days and to eat grass as food for 3 days thereafter."

Chairman Mao had always stressed that we must not fight any battle without making preparations or without a certainty of success. In order to ensure victory in the march toward Suiyuan, he not only repeatedly and clearly explained to us the difficulties, but also instructed us in detail on the methods to overcome the difficulties. Chairman Mao required us to do the following two things: 1. We had to be fully prepared mentally. We had to make an adequate and thorough estimate of the difficulties and clearly and fully explain to all the commanders and fighters how great the difficulties were, no matter how serious. Thus, we would urge all of them to think of solutions and put forth suggestions. Once we had been fully prepared mentally, we would not be brought down by difficulties. When you went back, you had to hold a meeting of the cadres at and above regimental level and invite Comrade Nei Rongzhen to give a speech, in which 10 or even 12 difficulties could be listed; at most, only five favorable conditions could be listed. We had to clearly tell our commanders and fighters that they were allowed to refuse to join the march if they were apprehensive about the difficulties. It would be bad and dangerous to their lives and would betray our secret if they returned after having entered Fu Zuoyi's area. 2. We had to make satisfactory material preparations. We had to make haste in providing, within our means, the necessary and additional supply of arms and ammunition. In a place like Suiyuan, grain would be available if we had silver coins. He told me to ask Comrade Bo Yibo to give us 100,000 silver dollars.

I was at a loss at the mentioning of such a large amount of silver coins and hastily replied: "How many people do we need to carry 100,000 silver dollars? It is too much for us to carry!"

Commander-in-chief Zhu laughed and said: "You can adopt the methods used in the Red Army period. You can divide it up so that it can be carried by all the people; say, let each company commander and platoon leader carry 50 silver dollars and allow them to use the silver dollars to pay for food. They can buy potatoes with the money if no millet is available for purchase."

At this point, Vice Chairman Zhou also chipped in and said that in order to solve the difficulties related to grain supply, besides the method of purchasing it with silver dollars, we could adopt the method of organizing support units in northwestern Shanxi and in the Shanxi-Chahaer-Hebei border area to support the corps. We could also organize local work teams and send them to Suiyuan to mobilize the masses of the people there. The corps could also bring some civilian support workers and stretcher teams with it.

Chairman Mao then raised three more requirements for us. He said: 1. We had to ensure victory in the first battle. The first battle had to be satisfactorily fought. We could concentrate two columns and employ a superior force five times stronger than the enemy to first wipe out the two enemy divisions in Jining and seize Jining City. Then, the various columns could regard Guisui as their target and march toward it from the east, seizing Baotou and the other cities and towns near Baotou along their way. The satisfactory results of the fighting of the battles in Jining and Baotou was of vital importance. 2. We had to strictly implement our policies related to prisoners of war. The KMT had deceived its troops and said that the CPC and the Eighth Route Army killed all prisoners of war, without exception. Therefore, it was very important to expose this lie. We had to treat leniently all those captured, including officers, give them money to cover their traveling expenses on their journey home, and welcome any of them who were willing to join the PLA. We had to let those we had captured do the work of disintegrating the enemy troops for us. 3. We had to go all out to mobilize the masses of the people and satisfactorily carry out mass work. We had to pay attention to publicizing our army's policies and the views upheld by our army and strictly enforce the "three main rules of discipline and the eight points of attention." We had to implement our policies related to [word indistinct], give medical service to the masses of people and help them carry water and clean their yards. We had to make them know that our troops were the children of the people and that our aim in going there was to help them win their liberation. Whenever we seized an area, we had to go all out to mobilize the masses of the people and organize them to support the fighting of [words indistinct].

After telling us the three requirements, Chairman Mao looked at his watch and said: You had better not leave today; stay here for the night. You have to think things over and see whether there are any problems that need to be solved. You can talk this over with Comrade Enlai. A few moments later, he urged us again, saying: Once more, when you march toward Suiyuan to seize Fu Zuoyi's old nest in order to pin down the enemy inside the Shanhaiguan Path, you should not only achieve military victories, but also turn Suiyuan into a liberated area, in cooperation with the work team, after you have seized it.

The atmosphere in the small penthouse was both serious and lively. When Chairman Mao was giving directives to Commander Nie and myself, Vice Chairman Zhou, Comrade Shaoqi, Commander-in-chief Zhu and Comrade Ren Bishi chipped in to give some important remarks. They gave detailed suggestions about the concrete problems, such as the supply of cotton-padded coats for fighters to keep them warm, the supply of shoes to facilitate the march, and the questions of how we were to cover our troops while they were marching toward Suiyuan, of where we were to take up quarters during the march, and of how we were to launch battles suddenly. The directives of Chairman Mao and other central leading comrades filled us with confidence in fulfilling the task of marching toward Suiyuan.

That night, we stayed in Xibaipo. Commander Nie and I lived in the same room. We recalled the directives of Chairman Mao and other central leaders and discussed them one by one. We deeply found that the large number of important directives that Chairman Mao had given us were all the concrete application and lively embodiment of the 10 principal military principles formulated by him and



that we had to strictly follow these directives. That evening, Commander Nie also gave me many concrete instructions. I thought that because of the importance of the task, the posts of commander and political commissar had better be taken by two people. As Comrade Li Jingquan was then secretary of northwestern Shanxi and was well experienced in commanding war and in doing political and local work, and as I had to depend on him in arranging the work related to local work team and the arduous work of supporting the front by the masses of the people, I proposed to Commander Nie that Comrade Li Jingquan be appointed political commissar.

It was very quiet in Xibaipo at night. There were only the occasional calls of birds and the steps of guards coming to and leaving their sentry posts. At that time, the troops and the villagers were all soundly asleep, but Chairman Mao's room was still brightly lit. At midnight, the Central Military Commission sent a message to the leaders of the Northeast Field Army and the No II Corps of the North China Field Army: "Today, Yang Chengwu [word indistinct] to the Central Committee to personally discuss the issue related to operations in Suiyuan. Yang's troops (eight brigades) will finish all the preparations on about the 20th of this month. It is planned that when you have already begun your fighting on the front line along Jingzhou and Yuguan and when the tasks of the corps (surrounding Chengde or Tangshan) of Yang Dezhi and Luo Ruiqing have been defined and the corps' operations have begun to attract Fu Zuoyi's principal force to the north or the east, Yang's troops will march from Laiyuan for 20 days, and the troops' principal force will reach the area near Guishui to besiege the city while its other parts will attack Jining and Xinghe in order to coordinate with your fighting."

The next day, we went to see Vice Chairman Zhou after breakfast. Commander Nie reported to Vice Chairman Zhou our views on fulfilling the task which we had formed the night before through discussion; he also told Vice Chairman Zhou that Chengwu proposed that Comrade Li Jingquan be appointed political commissar of the corps, and he said that he thought this was a good idea.

Vice Chairman Zhou gladly accepted the proposal. He then took us to the penthouse where Chairman Mao worked. He and Commander Nie reported to Chairman Mao and talked about the reason why Comrade Li Jingquan had to be appointed political commissar. Chairman Mao immediately accepted the proposal and said: "Let it be so. Send an order immediately and ask Comrade Li Jingquan to wait for the No III Corps in Shui County."

Before we left, Chairman Mao allocated an additional supply of cloth to us so that we could trade it for food in case we lacked grain.

On 5 August, we returned to the North China Military Region. Commander Nie told us to report to the leadership of the military region on the course of our accepting a task assigned by the CPC Central Committee. In addition, Commander Nie, Political Commissar Bo Yibo, and Deputy Commander Teng Daiyuan also gave me some specific instructions. The next day, with the important task entrusted to me by the leaders of the CPC Central Committee, the Central Military Commission, and the military region and their expectations on my back, I returned to the headquarters of the corps, which was situated in Yuntai Village in Yi County on the eastern slope of the Lang Ya Shan, and immediately started to make various specific

preparations. Commander Nie Rongzhen personally came to Yuantai 4 days later. We held a meeting of the cadres above the regimental level and invited Commander Nie to make a report at the meeting. On the basis of the spirit of the instructions made by the CPC Central Committee and Chairman Mao, Commander Nie spoke to us in detail about the situation at home and abroad and on the great significance of this military operation, which was personally decided by Chairman Mao, for our army's fighting in northeast China. In addition, he also spoke about the war preparations and set demands on the troops. Commander Nie's report greatly aroused the morale of the comrades present at the meeting. All of them were extremely excited. After returning to their units, all columns held meetings to pledge mass effort and carried out ideological mobilization. Subsequently, training and war preparations before our march into Suiyuan were carried out among all troops in a comprehensive, intense, and orderly manner.

In the autumn, the Lang Ya Shan was cloaked with red leaves. On the terraced fields, Kaoliang [Chinese sorghum] ripened and presented a picture of a bumper harvest. On 21 August, according to the order of the Central Military Commission, the troops at the three corps marched from the Yi County and Laiyang areas toward Yanbei. We had marched for a week before we arrived in Shuo County and joined forces with the work team under the command of Political Commissar Li Jingquan and Comrade Yao Zhe and other leading comrades of the Shanxi-Suiyuan No 8 Column. The troops, marching along two routes in the north and the south, also arrived on time and assembled in Shuo County, Shanyin County, and Dai County as scheduled. The front committee of the corps held in Mixima Village in Shuo County an enlarged meeting of the leading cadres of the Shanxi-Suiyuan party committees and governments to further study the war plans.

On 4 September, the troops continued to march toward Suiyuan. The columns spread out in the directions of Jining and Guisui. In order to conceal our movements, the troops marched at night and hid by day. At that time, it was around the Mid-Autumn Festival, the north wind whistled outside the Great Wall and there was a nip in the air. The commanders and fighters each carried a load of 70 to 80 jin on their backs. After a long march, many comrades got blisters on their feet and their shoulders bled. Nevertheless, the instructions made by the CPC Central Committee and Chairman Mao inspired the comrades to surmount all difficulties and to advance bravely. In Suiyuan, there were few villages. Thus, it was difficult to find quarters. In order not to scare the masses, the troops often settled under the eaves, in front of doorways, beside the walls, inside haystacks, or even in the streets. The companies also helped the masses reap crops, sweep their gardens, carry water, or grind things. In addition, they also publicized the CPC's good policies so that the masses let go of their suspicions and fears. The CPC's good policies and the people's army's fine tradition were like the spring wind which blows across the land north of the Great Wall and which warms the hearts of the masses.

On the march, the troops obeyed Chairman Mao's instructions by finding many ways to solve the difficulties concerning provisions. We found the silver dollars and cloth allotted by Chairman Mao very useful. Many troops used them to buy millet, potatoes, vegetables, mutton, and pork. On our way, the work team under the leadership of Comrade Li Jingquan comprehensively mobilized and organized the masses to give support to the front. On the basis of the principle of fairness in buying and selling, the work team managed to supply grain or meat whenever they were available so that the troops could basically eat their fill.

According to Chairman Mao's instruction that victory must be won in the first battle, we seriously studied Comrade Mao Zedong's battle principle of "concentrating a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one" and decided to dispatch the No 1 and No 8 Columns to besiege the town of Jining. Jining is a place of strategic importance in the eastern part of Suiyuan Province. It is a strategic point leading to both Zhangjiakou and Datong. At that time, the town was surrounded with an 8-li-long defensive wall which was 2.5 zhang high and more than 1 zhang wide. Outside the wall there was a 6-chi-wide city moat. To the southeast of the town there is the Laohu Mountain and to the west there is the Wolong Mountain. On these two commanding heights, the enemy had built concrete defensive works. However, our soldiers fought bravely and maneuvered flexibly to assault the enemy's heavily fortified positions and captured the town within less than 24 hours. In this battle, we annihilated a brigade of enemy troops and captured the enemy's brigade commander. Thus, we sent out the first report of victory on our march against Suiyuan. When our troops were assaulting Jining, other units of the PLA also took irresistible action and liberated vast areas in eastern and southern Suiyuan. They wiped out more than 6,500 enemy troops and gained control of the whole section of railway between Fengzhen and Guishui. Immediately after that, the No 2 Column of my corps stormed and captured the city of Baotou and pursued the fleeing enemy for more than 200 li, wiping out the greater part of the enemy. Our cavalry passed by the Daqing Mountain and launched an offensive against the enemy in northern Suiyuan. Then, we liberated vast areas in western and northern Suiyuan. At that time, snow fell in big flakes and in the evening the temperature declined to under 20 degrees below zero centigrade. The eyebrows and gauze masks of our comrades were all covered with frost. Despite cold and hunger, our troops swept across the broad area north of the Great Wall in indomitable spirit and followed up victories by laying siege to the isolated city of Guisui. This action directly threatened the base of Fu Zuoyi.

The action of the No III Corps appalled Fu Zuoyi. Finding that his backyard was in danger, he hurriedly transferred some 10 divisions of infantry and cavalry units under his direct control from Beiping and Zhangjiakou to reinforce his base in Guisui. The enemy reinforcements were maneuvered at night. When receiving the information about the enemy's movements, we immediately ordered our troops to move eastward and muster around the area between Fengzhen, Jining, and Liangcheng to make preparations for dealing a head-on blow at the enemy reinforcements moving toward Guisui, while leaving a column and some local units to contain the enemy in Guisui and to take control of Baotou. At the same time, the No II Corps of the PLA North China Field Army also pressed on toward the Beiping, Chengde, and Zhangjiakou areas to support the action of the No III Corps in a coordinated way. This situation forced Fu Zuoyi to order the 10 divisions of troops which were on the way to reinforce the defensive troops in Guisui to return eastward, and these enemy troops thus tired because of too much running around. By then, the strategic purpose of the Central Military Commission and Chairman Mao, which was to contain the main force of Fu's troops and prevent it from moving to northeast China, had been achieved. This ensured our army's great victory in the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign in northeast China and created favorable conditions for winning a great victory in the Beiping-Tianjin campaign afterward.

When recalling this section of history, I deeply feel that the victory in the battles and military actions in Suiyuan was due to the correct command of the party center and Comrade Mao Zedong, so it was a victory for Mao Zedong Military Thought. It once again proves that Mao Zedong Military Thought is a magic weapon for directing revolutionary wars and for defeating the enemy. At present, modern military science and technology are developing rapidly, and the new situation has posed many new subjects for commanders and soldiers of our army. However, no matter what changes have occurred in weapons and battle patterns, Mao Zedong Military Thought, as an integrated scientific system, still has strong vitality and remains our precious wealth. We must follow the instructions of the party center and the Central Military Commission, seriously study Mao Zedong Military Thought in connection with the new historical conditions, uphold and develop Mao Zedong Military Thought, and apply the rich legacy bequeathed by Comrade Mao Zedong to the building of our modernized and regularized revolutionary army with Chinese characteristics. This is the best way to commemorate Comrade Mao Zedong.

CSO: 4005/283

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### ADVISORY COMMISSION ELECTS PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE

OW230629 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1155 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Report by Li Shangzhi]

[Text] Beijing, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--The advisory commission of the CPC Central Committee held a meeting of party members at the Huai ren Hall in Zhongnanhai on the morning of 21 December to form a provisional party committee of the office of the commission and arrange for members of the commission in Beijing to take part in the party rectification work.

The meeting elected Comrades Bo Yibo, Wang Shoudao, Wu Xiuquan, Liu Lantao, Lu Dingyi, Huang Huoqing, Cheng Zihua, Liu Daosheng and Rong Gaotang to form the provisional party committee of the office of the Central Advisory Commission. Wu Xiuquan, Standing Committee member of the commission, was elected secretary and Rong Gaotang, secretary general of the commission, was elected deputy secretary of the provisional party committee.

A total of 103 members from the members of the Central Advisory Commission, who are in Beijing, are assigned to take part in party rectification under the provisional party committee. They are divided up into five provisional branches. A secretary and deputy secretary for each of the five provisional branches were elected at the meeting.

According to the "suggestion of the provisional party committee of the office of the Central Advisory Commission concerning the arrangements for members of the commission in Beijing to take part in party rectification," the provisional party committee and all the provisional branches must proceed from reality in earnestly implementing the CPC Central Committee's decision on party rectification and solving, in a truth-seeking manner, problems that need to be solved in party rectification. Through party rectification, the provisional party committee and the provisional branches must enable the Central Advisory Commission and its members to bring into better play the role of assistant and advisor for the central authorities politically. The suggestion of the provisional party committee of the office of the Central Advisory Commission urges its members in Beijing to, beginning from this winter, complete party rectification in about 1 year's time, covering roughly the following four stages: 1) studying the documents, raising the understanding, unifying the thinking and rectifying mistakes in the course of study; 2) checking up on work according to requirement and

unfolding criticism and self-criticism; 3) conducting registration of party members; and 4) organizing acceptance tests and consolidating achievements of party rectification.

The "suggestion" urges all the provisional branches to use their own discretion in deciding the primary and secondary points of study, discussion and checking up on work according to requirement. All members must earnestly conduct criticism and self-criticism, sum up their experience and lesson, clarify their thinking, raise their understanding and overcome shortcomings in order to continuously achieve progress. As one is never too old to learn, it is all the more important for old party members to continue the study.

Bo Yibo, vice chairman of the Central Advisory Commission, spoke at the meeting. He said: members of the commission are all old comrades. In the past more than a year, many of them have tried their utmost to fulfill the work entrusted by the central authorities. He said: The central authorities are determined to complete party rectification in 3 years. It is hoped that old comrades will not lag behind but continue to exert themselves in the party rectification work. Here is a reminder: Old comrades should act according to their own capability, do their best and make the best use of their remaining years to assist the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification to successfully carry out party rectification.

The meeting was chaired by Wu Xiuqian, secretary of the provisional party committee of the office. Sixty-six members of the Central Advisory Commission in Beijing attended the meeting. Shuai Mengqi, Lu Dingyi and Geng Biao discussed their views on the rectification work.

In accordance with the suggestion of the provisional party committee of the office of the Central Advisory Commission, members of the commission in various localities are to be organized into four groups--east China, central south, southwest and northwest, and north China--to take part in party rectification.

CSO: 4005/283

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HU QIAOMU VIEWS WORKERS' IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

OW240621 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1542 GMT 21 Dec 83

[By reporters Ji Naifu and Wu Jincai]

[Text] Beijing, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--Hu Qiaomu, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, this afternoon listened, with much interest, to remarks made by some representatives attending a forum on ideological and political work among staff members and workers and by representatives of winners of a knowledge contest [zhi shi jing sai 4249 6221 4552 6357] sponsored by GONGREN RIBAO. In great delight, he presented souvenirs to the representatives of winners of the aforementioned knowledge contest held in connection with the "rejuvenating China" reading campaign among staff members.

Fu Huilin, director of the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal Trade Union Council, made a report to Comrade Hu Qiaomu. He said that up to now 500,000 people in Shanghai had signed up for the reading campaign, and that the vigorous "reading enthusiasm" had opened a good way for the workers' self-education and had brought about a drastic change in many young workers. In a brief report Hao Dongsheng, chairman of the propaganda work committee of the Harbin Steam Turbine Plant Trade Union, said that he had lectured on the communist ideology among workers in conjunction with the realities around them. This, he added, had evoked great repercussions from the young people and had been widely welcomed by them. Zhuang Jia, a cadre in charge of propaganda work in the Fujian Provincial Postal and Telecommunications Trade Union, said that when he gave a lecture on the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" this year, hundreds of people lined up to buy tickets to hear the lecture. This very fact, he said, enhanced his confidence in the success in running the lectures series on this and other books. Zhang Gongsheng, assistant engineer of the Liaoning Power Plant and noted story teller in Liaoning Province, spoke on the vigorous scene of the story-telling campaign developed by local workers. Wang Suhua, a supply clerk of the No 5714 Plant in Wuhan, who had won first place in the GONGREN RIBAO knowledge contest, reported on what she had gained by paying constant attention to acquiring knowledge and by participating in the knowledge contest. In a serious manner Comrade Hu Qiaomu listened to these reports and frequently took the lead in applauding. A very dynamic atmosphere prevailed in the meeting hall.

Following the reports by the representatives, Comrade Hu Qiaomu delivered an ebullient speech. He praised the experience of trade unions at various levels in organizing the masses of workers to do ideological and political work, and spoke highly of the "rejuvenating China" reading campaign presently launched among the staff members and workers in various parts of the country.

Comrade Hu Qiaomu said: The valuable contributions made by the trade union organizations are that they have relied on the role played by the masses to heighten the awareness of staff members and workers, to educate and help many backward elements to raise their consciousness, and to take an active part in the struggle against grave criminals of one kind or another. This action taken by the advanced elements of the working class indicates that the broad masses of workers are taking an active part in leading our socialist country, and that they are leading all laboring people to press forward in the direction charted by their vanguards--the Communist Party of China. It also indicates that the working class is certainly the master and pathbreaker of socialist China. The struggle carried out by the working class to dominate the ideological front should long be continued. This will bring increasing prosperity and incessant victories to the cause of our party and the working class.

Comrade Hu Qiaomu pointed out: The reading campaign among staff members and workers should be continued persistently from the socialist to the communist period. Activists in this campaign are also activists, pillars, and backbone elements of the socialist society. They constitute a vanguard force to push our country to advance continuously and are models in doing ideological and political work. Where do cadres for ideological and political work come from? They should be trained in various ways. The "rejuvenating China" reading campaign being developed under the leadership of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions is precisely a major source which provides and supplements manpower continuously for our party's ideological and political work force.

Comrade Hu Qiaomu said: We have often heard many of our comrades recall the fine situation in the 1950's, saying that the situation in the 1980's is not as good as that time. This is merely a one-sided view. Actually there are a number of factors that cannot be compared between these two periods, and it is impossible for us to re-present the past history. What is more, not everything in the 1980's is worse than the 1950's. In the first place, our party leaders and the advanced elements among the people are now more politically mature and have richer experience. This puts us in a better position to proceed with the task of socialist construction, which should have been but was not carried out satisfactorily in the 1950's. It is true that young people of the 1950's made positive efforts to study, but such study could not be completed in one move. It takes long study and practice for a nation to see and manifest the superiority of socialism, and we are now in the course of carrying out such study and practice with pretty good results. This being so, we have no reason to express pessimism about and nonconfidence in the 1980's. Activists who have emerged in the 1980's even surpass those in the 1950's in quality because they have experienced the great twists and turns and the serious setbacks in history,



and are undertaking an even more complicated, heavier, and harder task. They are striving hard to study and grasp knowledge in various fields necessary for the successful management of our country.

In conclusion Comrade Hu Qiaomu stressed: Without knowledge of science and technology, it is impossible to achieve the great goal set by our party. Without a high degree of ideological and political consciousness among the masses of people, it is impossible to accomplish the program of the four modernizations and to build the two civilizations.

Among others present at today's forum were Ni Zhifu, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and president of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions; and Yuan Baohua, vice minister of the State Economic Commission.

CSO: 4005/283

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PROGRESS NOTED IN NATIONAL LITERACY CAMPAIGN

OW211612 Beijing XINHUA in English 1032 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--China's national literacy program has made new progress this year by convincing peasants that education is essential to farming.

A total of 6.5 million people have attended literacy classes this year.

Local governments and educational departments across the country planned or revised literacy programs after a national census last year revealed that 230 million people--23.5 percent of China's population--were either illiterates or only semi-literates. Most of the illiterates, about 210 million people, live in rural areas.

Illiterates and semi-literates accounted for 38.1 percent of the Chinese population in the previous census, in 1964. According to standards set by the State Council, a literate person should be able to read and write 1,500 words.

The People's Republic started its first nationwide literary campaigns immediately after its founding in 1949. The program came to a halt during the "Cultural Revolution" of 1966-1976, helping foster a new generation of illiterates.

Earlier this year the north China province of Hebei has declared that illiteracy has been basically wiped out in 91 out of its 152 counties and cities. More than one million people have attended literacy classes, most of which are held in local primary school classrooms.

The province has also adapted literacy texts to include farming knowledge and technology to attract the interest of the peasant students.

In Shandong Province, east China, literacy classes have drawn 800,000 peasants, 480,000 of whom have now passed literacy exams. The provincial government this year allocated one million yuan (about 500,000 U.S. dollars) to the program.

One prefecture in Shandong has sent more than 500 cadres and retired teachers to help the literacy campaign in the province's remote mountainous areas.

In the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region's Kashi Prefecture, 110,000 peasant households have received "literacy families" certificates, while 100,000 more peasants have attended literacy classes, night schools or agronomy training courses.

The prefecture's communist party members, youth league members, cadres, rural doctors, teachers and retired workers have also taken up teaching duties in spare-time literacy classes. In many families, the elderly go to literacy classes while the young people attend night schools to upgrade themselves.

The Hu Ud League in Inner Mongolia now has 1.4 million literates among its 1.6 million people aged 12 and above. Over 400 spare-time primary and middle schools are also open to graduates of literacy classes who want to learn more.

China's progress in literacy education has also drawn attention from abroad. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been supporting literacy teachers' training classes run by the Chinese Ministry of Education in some provinces.

The Chinese National Commission for UNESCO will host a regional literacy workshop next year. The workshop will be attended by literacy experts from a dozen Asian and Pacific countries.

CSO: 4000/152

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPC GREETES REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF KMT

OW240338 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1451 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--Message of greetings from the CPC Central Committee to the Sixth National Congress of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang:

Delegates and comrades:

The Sixth National Congress of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang has ceremoniously opened. The CPC Central Committee wished to extend its warm greetings to the congress and regards to the leaders and all comrades of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang and all members of the committee have inherited and carried forward the revolutionary spirit of the great revolutionary forerunner, Dr Sun Yat-sen, in loving the motherland and making constant progress. You have written a glorious page in the history of China's revolution and construction. Many veteran comrades who founded the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang are comrades-in-arms of Dr Sun Yat-sen, have firmly adhered to the revolutionary program formulated by him in opposing imperialism and feudalism, have closely cooperated with our party, and have supported and encouraged each other in the protracted struggles against imperialism and the reactionary faction of the Kuomintang. We have been making progress together.

Since the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang was founded in 1948, the committee has become an important component part of the united front in opposing imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratism. You have stood together with our party through thick and thin and fought side by side with us. You have made important contributions to winning victory in the new Democratic Revolution and building a new China. The people of the whole country have praised you.

After the founding of New China, the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang have persisted in closely cooperating with our party, extensively united and promoted former military and government personnel of the Kuomintang and people with links to them to take part in socialist transformation and construction, and played an important role and done many things to promote the reunification of the motherland.

Since the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang has centered its tasks on serving socialist modernization and concentrated its efforts in promoting the reunification of the motherland. It has unfolded activities in all fields. You have made valuable efforts and achieved significant results in taking part in the consultation on major national affairs, assisting the implementation of policies toward defected Kuomintang personnel and relatives of those in Taiwan, organizing members of the committee to run school, providing consultative services, and supporting with intellectuals the frontier regions and areas where minority nationalities live. In particular, you have done many beneficial things and created a very good influence in strengthening contacts with patriotic people in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and overseas and in disseminating the principles and policies for the reunification of the motherland. [sentence as printed]

Your current congress will seriously sum up past work and formulate future tasks in accordance with the new situation of constant development of socialist modernization and the general tasks of our country at the present stage. The CPC Central Committee is convinced that through the current congress you will certainly promote organizations of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang at various levels, all members of the committee, and people with links to the committee to work harder and make new contributions to speeding up the building of socialist modernization and fulfilling the great cause of reunifying the motherland, including Taiwan. You will certainly create a vigorous and progressive new situation in your work.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, people of all nationalities on all fronts in the whole country are intensively implementing the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and the 1st Session of the 6th NPC and are working hard to create a new situation in building socialist modernization. We have achieved political stability and unity and our economy is now prosperous; we are now in one of the best periods since the founding of new China. The great achievements in all fields made since the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have proved that there is great hope that we can work to revitalize China. Our cause of socialist modernization has a bright future. No difficulties or hardships can stop the Chinese people from winning constant victories.

In order to step up efforts to achieve modernization, to strive for the motherland's reunification including Taiwan, to oppose hegemonism and defend world peace, and to build China into a modernized socialist country with a high level of civilization and democracy, it is imperative to follow Comrade Mao Zedong's idea about the united front; to further solidify and expand the broadest patriotic united front which, led by the CPC, must include all democratic parties and people's organizations embracing all socialist working people and all patriots who support socialism or who support the reunification of the motherland, to unite with all forces that can be united, and to mobilize all positive factors. Our party will continue to adhere to the principles of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe," and will support all democratic parties in their independent undertakings to fully bring their positive role into play.

To achieve the motherland's reunification, including Taiwan, is the ardent common wish of the people of all nationalities of the whole country, including the compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao and Chinese nationals abroad. It is

also the important mission entrusted to our generation by history. The CPC has on many occasions clarified its policies on the motherland's reunification. On 30 September 1981, Comrade Ye Jianying explained the policy concerning the return of Taiwan to the motherland for the realization of the motherland's peaceful reunification. In June this year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further explained his propositions for the peaceful reunification of the China mainland and Taiwan, proposing that the Kuomintang and the CPC hold consultation on an equal footing to realize a third-round Kuomintang-Communist cooperation. The two parties cooperated twice in the past; both times helped our country's development and the Chinese nation's progress. There is no reason now not to cooperate a third time for the motherland's reunification and prosperity. It is our hope that compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao and Chinese nationals abroad contribute to the motherland's reunification and that the Taiwan authorities put national interests uppermost in their minds and, together with us, write a new chapter of history. The Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee and its members have so many old friends, colleagues, and schoolmates in the Kuomintang military and government organizations, they had ties in many aspects in the past. KMT Revolutionary Committee members should make full use of this special position and, resorting to their relationship influence, contribute their wisdom and energy to the great cause of the motherland's reunification. In July last year, our party's Comrade Liao Chengzhi wrote a letter to his erstwhile comrade-in-arms Mr Chiang Ching-kuo which had tremendous effect. Comrades of the KMT Revolutionary Committee should play their unique role in this respect.

Our party is now conducting party rectification step by step and the task of preventing and eliminating spiritual pollution on the ideological and theoretical front is progressing vigorously and steadily. These are the two major events in the political life in our country. They are the fundamental guarantees for the smooth progression of the socialist modernization drive with economic construction as the central task for full accomplishment of the state's general task in the present stage. Most recently, the CPC Central Committee's Party Rectification Guidance Commission issued an official circular calling on party committees at all levels to fully listen to the opinions of friends and the masses outside the party. We sincerely hope that comrades of the KMT Revolutionary Committee enthusiastically offer their opinions and suggestions regarding our party's work, and tell us all you know and tell it without reserve in order to help us have a successful party rectification. While aimed at solving the ideological problems among party members, state cadres, and the people, the prevention and elimination of spiritual pollution is a contradiction among the people themselves. We must correctly judge what is right and what is wrong and draw distinctions in accordance with the party's policy. We hope that comrades of KMT Revolutionary Committee will join us to make this task a success.

Let us be united still more closely to win still greater victories. We wish your congress a complete success! We wish all delegates and comrades the best of health.

CPC Central Committee

21 December 1983.

CSO: 4005/283

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PREFACE TO 'COLLECTED WORKS OF DENG TUO'

HK231026 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 83 p 8

[Article by Zhou Yang: "Preface to the 'Collected Works of Deng Tuo' (December 1983)"]

[Text] Having died at the hands of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Tuo has been gone from us for 17 years. Now, when I read his collected works, I seem to meet an old friend after a long separation, and this cannot but evoke my deep and painful memories of him.

Many of the articles in the collected works were written by Comrade Deng Tuo while working in the Shanxi-Hebei-Chahar border region, where he worked for 10 years starting in the autumn of 1937. I met him there for the first time after the Japanese invaders surrendered. Although, as early as the 1930's we had participated in the leftwing cultural movement led by the party in Shanghai, I had not met him due to the secret environment of the underground party at that time. In 1945, he and I worked at the propaganda department of the Central Shanxi-Hebei-Chahar Bureau of the CPC Central Committee for a brief period. Later, he was assigned to the RENMIN RIBAO office and I worked at the central propaganda department. As we still worked in the propaganda department, we had a lot of opportunities to get in touch with each other. Comrades Nie Rongzhen and Peng Zhen, who presided over the work of the Central Shanxi-Hebei-Chahar Bureau, frequently talked about his personality, and particularly when they talked about his heroic deeds in those war-ridden years, fighting while bringing along a transmitter-receiver to run a newspaper and always ready to give his young life, all comrades, without exception, were moved by his deeds. This has also left an unforgettable impression on me. Some of the articles included in this collected works have reflected only a small portion of his colossal work at that time, but we can also note from them the arduous and painstaking efforts he made for the journalism of our party.

Comrade Deng Tuo was an erudite political commentator who had an extensive interest in, and carried out wide-ranging studies on, the cultural heritage of the motherland. Not only was he well versed in calligraphy and remarkably accomplished in traditional Chinese paintings, he was also a prolific poet and literary commentator. In an effort to seek the law governing the development of China's society in order to meet the needs of the revolution, he devoted himself from his youth to the study of history and expressed his views on a number of important

questions in China's history. He deserved to be called a historian who really studied history for the revolution. As Comrade Deng Tuo was engaged for a long time in the arduous work of presiding over party newspapers, he carried out much of his studies and writing in his spare time. This also showed his hard work and talent. The outstanding contributions he made as a party journalist will certainly receive a comprehensive and fair evaluation in the journalistic history of our country.

However, if we are to judge a writer from his works, I think the works which could best express Comrade Deng Tuo's ideological features were not only his political commentaries and academic articles, but also his essays, particularly the "Yanshan Night Talks" familiar to the readers.

Just as the author himself said, the "Yanshan Night Talks" "dealt with topics which he had seen, heard, and felt," topics ranging from reading, scholarly research, and the way to get along with people to production, construction, the methods of leadership and so on, most of them being the problems ordinary people are frequently confronted with. The author quoted copiously from many sources and spoke at great length in an effort to merge knowledge with ideology. He made them so interesting and absorbing as to get people to think. Undoubtedly, an important reason for the attraction of the "Night Talks" since its publication in newspapers and periodicals was its wide range of knowledge and its artistic character. Another distinctive feature of the "Night Talks" was the profound feelings of loving the motherland and the people and of being proud of the splendid culture of our nation which permeated through the writing in its dissemination of historical and social knowledge. These feelings could be attributed to his heartfelt praise for the fine socialist things and his warm call for the energetic building of a new life. His commentaries on historical knowledge and figures did not in the least dim people's interest in reality but, rather, increased people's wisdom in understanding and transforming reality. Even when encouraging people to study conscientiously, the author did not forget to remind people to be concerned about state affairs and to take a correct attitude toward the purpose of study. When expounding the moral characters of members of the Donglin School, the author quoted as proof the antithetical couplets of their school, reading: "The sound of the wind and the rain and the sound of reading aloud are all pleasant to the ear; be concerned with the affairs of family, state, and world." Here the author showed sympathy for the members of the Donglin School to a certain extent. Many articles, knowledge, sentiments, and hows and whys contained in the "Yanshan Night Talks" are transmitted to the readers in a manner of holding discussions on an equal basis and in simple and unadorned language so that the readers, after reading the "Talks," will virtually become more determined to make progress everyday.

Different from the essays well known for their bitter irony, these essays by Comrade Deng Tuo are well known for their spreading of knowledge and prompting of mental development. It can be said that his essays are positive ones. However, this does not mean that in his essays, the author makes no effort to negate some passive and seamy sides of actual life. This is not only because the author also wrote a small number of literary works designated to directly satirize and castigate ugly social phenomena, but because the common keynote of his essays is to advocate the idea of seeking truth from facts and the scientific spirit and to attach importance to the role of cultural knowledge in enhancing people's socialist consciousness. This itself serves as a negation and criticism of



the "leftist" erroneous ideological trends prevailing at that time and some abominable behavior characterized by falsehood, exaggeration, and empty talk. Evidently, the "Night Talks" have a definite object in view, with no mistaking what they are aimed at. However, at that time, the CPC Central Committee was correcting some "leftist" errors that arose during the "big leap forward" and the movement to set up the people's communes throughout the country and reaffirmed the principles of investigation and study and of seeking truth from facts. The publication of the "Night Talks" on such an occasion was an expression by the author to wholeheartedly support and enthusiastically implement these correct principles of the CPC Central Committee. Nevertheless, while expressing his proper dissatisfaction, he still tried his utmost to do it in a mild and roundabout way. When the guiding ideology of widening the scope of class struggle gained ground again in the autumn and winter of 1962, he stopped writing essays like the "Night Talks." It can thus be easily seen from here that as a party member writer, Comrade Deng Tuo was strict with himself and observed party discipline; meanwhile, he had his own views on the erroneous policies and practices pursued in that period. The numerous essays he wrote in a concentrated way in 2 years are precisely, as I see it, a reflection of this contradictory state in his heart.

It is painful for a writer to find himself apart from the party's viewpoints in ideology and understanding. All writers who ardently love their motherland and support socialism must strive to maintain unity with the CPC Central Committee in terms of fundamental political stand. However, under social circumstances or when deviations emerge in the party's policies and work or the writers themselves have erroneous and unhealthy ideas and feelings, incongruity between the writers and the CPC Central Committee is very likely to emerge. In this situation, a party member writer first must have faith in the masses and in the party and must state his own views to the party in a serious and earnest, active, and responsible way; by no means must he conceal his own views and still less place himself above the party, claiming himself to be wiser than the party. On the other hand, all writers must, under the guidance of the party's correct principles and policies, correct their incorrect understanding so that they can genuinely understand, accept, and comprehensively master the party's correct propositions and proceed to achieve ideological and political unity with the CPC Central Committee. This is an important experience which has been positively affirmed by the vigorous development of all undertakings in China in recent years and also a historical lesson which we should never forget while cherishing the memory of Comrade Deng Tuo, who died under the literary persecution of the "gang of four."

CSO: 4005/283

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MINORITY CONGRESS HEARS TIAN, MEETS TOP LEADERS

LD232137 Beijing XINHUA in English 1455 GMT 23 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, December 23 (XINHUA)--"China will continue to help minority areas expand their economies and culture," Tian Jiyun, vice-premier of the State Council, told a national congress on minority nationalities here today.

According to Tian, China allocated over 77 billion yuan (about 39 billion U.S. dollars) for fundamental construction in minority areas between [word indistinct] and 1982. More than 37,000 factories and enterprises were built, he said.

"In 1982, industrial and agricultural output rose faster in minority areas than in the country as a whole, increasing by 29.2 percent over 1978. 1982 was also a record year in the production of grain, cotton, edible oil and animal products. Incomes rose and living standards improved," he said.

The vice-premier said the grasslands of China's 114 autonomous regions, prefectures and countries make up 89.6 percent of the country's total pasturage. Their forest and timber reserves account for 46 percent of the national total, and their water resources, 52 percent. "Although there is a gap between the minority areas and our coastal areas and developed provinces, there is great potential for the development of industry and agriculture there. They are richly endowed with natural resources," he said.

Tian said that although China's financial condition was not now very strong, the state has still decided to allocate money to solve some minority people's economic difficulties.

All government departments will be required to give full consideration to the minority areas' special needs and difficulties in mapping out economic plans, and to give them special priority when conditions permit. In exploiting resources and building enterprises, all departments should follow the stipulations of the national constitution and protect the interests of the autonomous areas and their people to [words indistinct] a good relationship with them," he stressed.

The vice-premier also said he hoped that all minority peoples would adopt [word indistinct] policies suited to their local conditions. He [words

indistinct] people in [word indistinct] areas should make use of methane, solar energy and wind energy, develop charcoal forests and try to build fast-growing timber centers. Minority herdsmen should build more enclosed pastures and expand processing of animal products.

To cope with the needs of economic and cultural development in minority areas, Tian said, continued efforts should be made in promoting education. In addition to existing institutes of higher learning and secondary schools, agricultural and vocational middle schools and short-term courses should be expanded to train more young minority cadres and specialized personnel. Scientists, technicians and college graduates from other provinces should also be encouraged to work in the border areas, he said.

Party and state leaders Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian and Peng Zhen met delegates to the conference here this afternoon at the great hall of the people.

CSO: 4000/148

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BEIJING CATHOLICS OBSERVE CHRISTMAS

OW241858 Beijing XINHUA in English 1837 GMT 24 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, December 24 (XINHUA)--More than 8,000 catholics attended the Christmas midnight mass at the church of St. Joseph and the church of St. Mary of the Immaculate Conception here tonight despite the biting cold now in Beijing.

Worshippers, in thick padded clothes, happily exchanged Christmas greetings in the churches which were brightly illuminated. The midnight mass began amid the strains of the "Silent Night."

More than 50 students of the Chinese Catholic Seminary attended, for the first time, the midnight mass at the church of St. Joseph which was officiated by Bishop Antonius Tu Shihua, director of the seminary.

Michael Fu Tieshan, bishop of Beijing diocese which has over 20,000 catholics, presided over the mass at the church of St. Mary of the Immaculate Conception. He told XINHUA before the mass: "We are here and this year's Christmas is happier. The average number of church goers still remains about 2,000 every day," he added. All the bishops in Beijing would preside over masses at the two churches tonight and tomorrow morning, he said.

A stable has been added to the side of the altar in the St. Mary of the Immaculate Conception Church and under a statue of the virgin on a rockery are flowers offered by faithful church goers. Many aged worshippers travelled here from the rural areas of Beijing.

One church official said: "Some believers have bought from the church mangers and holy infants to their homes for Christmas." [as received]

Ye Yinyun, bishop of Guangzhou diocese also presided over the midnight mass at the noted Stone Room Cathedral which was attended by more than 2,400 believers.

Protestants in Beijing, Shanghai and teachers and students of the Nanjing Union Theological Seminary also participated in candlelight service and performances of Christmas carols and Christmas feasts.

CSO: 4000/148

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MAO'S 1941 ARTICLE ON FREEDOM, NECESSITY

OW270456 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1132 GMT 24 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, 24 Dec (XINHUA)--Freedom Is Knowledge of Necessity and Transformation of the World

[by] Mao Zedong

Note by the CPC Central Committee Party Literature Research Center: In 1941, Comrade Mao Zedong, in refuting the third "left" deviationist line, wrote an article on "Freedom and Necessity." In commemoration of the 90th anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong's birthday, we are publishing this writing. The title is ours. (End note)

To know the world is for the purpose of changing the world. The history of mankind is made by mankind itself. But, without knowing the world, it is impossible to change the world, and "without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement."<sup>1</sup> In this respect, our lords<sup>2</sup> are ignorant. The change from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom must go through the two processes of knowing and changing. Old European philosophers<sup>3</sup> already understood the truth that "freedom is knowledge of necessity." Marx' contribution was not in denying this truth, but in adding to this truth, after recognizing it as a truth, what was lacking--the truth of "changing the world" based on knowledge of necessity."<sup>4</sup> "Freedom is knowledge of necessity"--this was the proposition of the old philosophers. "Freedom is knowledge of necessity and transformation of the world"--this is the proposition of Marxism. If a Marxist does not understand knowing the world by changing the world, and then changing the world by knowing the world, he is not a good Marxist. If a Chinese Marxist does not understand knowing China by changing China, and then changing China by knowing China, he is not a good Chinese Marxist. Marx said that people are different from bees in that before building a house people have long had a drawing of the house in their minds.<sup>5</sup> To build the house of the Chinese revolution, we too must first of all have a drawing of the Chinese revolution. Not only must we have a big drawing, an overall design, but we must also have many small drawings and partial drawings. And these drawings are nothing other than the

active reflections we have obtained on the objective realities in the practice of the Chinese revolution (the active reflections on the domestic class relations, the domestic national relations, the mutual relations between various countries, the mutual relations between China and various countries, and so forth). Our lords are subjectivists because all their revolutionary drawings, large and small, overall and partial, are not based on and do not conform to objective realities. They have only a subjective desire to transform the world, transform China, transform north China, or transform cities, but they do not have a presentable drawing. Their drawings are unscientific, subjective, arbitrary, and a complete mess. The lords have absolutely no knowledge of this world, and yet they preposterously attempt to change it. As a result, they have not only bashed in their own heads but led a group of people to bash in theirs. The lords are blind to the necessity of the Chinese revolution, and yet they have the preposterous desire to act as a guide for the people. It is indeed what is known as "a blind man on a blind horse on the edge of a deep pool at midnight."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Lenin's "What Is To Be Done?" Section 4, "Engels on the Significance of Theoretical Struggle." The translation in "Selected Works of Lenin," People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, Vol 1, p 24, reads: "Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement."
2. Refers to the "left" opportunists represented by Wang Ming.
3. Refers to Spinoza, Hegel and so forth.
4. See Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, Vol 1, pp 16-19); Engels, "Morality and Law, Freedom and Necessity," "Anti-Duhring," Vol 1, section 10 ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 154).
5. See Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol 1, Part 2, Chapter 5, Section 1, "Process of Labor" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," People's Publishing House, 1972 edition, Vol 23, p 102).

CSO: 4005/283

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RENMIN RIBAO ON MAO'S LITERATURE, ART THOUGHT

HK281306 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Dec 83 p 7

[Article by Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211]: "Mao Zedong's Literature and Art Thought Guides Us in Continuing To Forge Ahead"]

[Text] Today is the 90th birthday of Comrade Mao Zedong, China's great revolutionary. Throughout his life, he experienced China's greatest social upheavals, fiercest struggles, and sharpest changes. In this long and arduous struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong took infinite pains and gave his all for the liberation of the Chinese people and for the building of new China. His contributions in revolutionary practice and revolutionary theory can never be obliterated, and his great achievements will remain in history forever.

Comrade Mao Zedong has been gone for 7 years. The longer the time, the more profoundly we feel that his death is a loss never to be made up for. As a German philosopher said: the law for appraising the greatness of the spirit of a person is contrary to that for appraising the largeness of his body, that is, with the elapse of time, his spirit is becoming greater and his body is becoming smaller. Comrade Mao Zedong made such an impression on us.

Like that of Marx, the greatness of Comrade Mao Zedong lay in the combination of a "man with ideology" with a "man of practice," and these two complement each other. Lu Xun said that he was a man who "shed his blood in a down-to-earth manner for the survival of the Chinese people" but that he was not a man who prattled about "superb theory." Comrade Mao Zedong used basic Marxist principles to investigate and study China's realities. He put forward a series of theory, line, and principles to solve China's revolutionary practice and to guide the Chinese revolution from one victory to another. This is the victory of the Marxist line of "from practice to practice," that is, "from the masses to the masses."

In the Yanan period, on the one hand, Comrade Mao Zedong commanded the war of resistance against Japanese aggression carried out by the 8th Route Army, the New Fourth Army, and the masses, and constantly crushed the anticommunist, splittist, and capitulationist schemes of the KMT diehards; on the other hand, he made use of the tranquil situation in Yanan to concentrate his time and efforts on summing up, together with his comrades in arms, the protracted history of struggle and rich experience in China's political, military, and cultural fields, and on writing a series of brilliant works. In philosophical ideology,

he paid attention to the role of practice, formulating the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality. In the political field, he brought forth a new democratic program, correctly answering the question of "whether China" and pointing out that China should take the socialist road. In the military field, he worked out a series of correct strategy and tactics and guided the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the war of liberation to final victory. In the cultural field, he expounded the contents and forms of new democratic culture under the leadership of communist ideology and wrote many theses on the building of the party. It was astonishing to have achieved such great successes in the short span of several years. Without the guidance of the above theories and principles, it would have been impossible for the Chinese revolution to achieve such a rapid and all-round victory and we would have been in the dark putting up a bitter struggle.

It was at this time that Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the correct orientation and road for the development of China's proletarian literature and art.

China's new, revolutionary literature and art started from the "4 May" Movement, went through arduous struggle, and won great successes in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism and in the struggle against the counterrevolutionary "encirclement" campaign carried out by the KMT. It made great contributions to the people's revolutionary cause. Lu Xun was the standard-bearer of the new, revolutionary literature and art. But restricted by the era and historical conditions, this new literature and art also had shortcomings. After the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, a large number of literary and art workers went to Yanan and other revolutionary base areas. This means that from the areas ruled by big landlords and big bourgeoisie, they came to the proletarian-led areas where the people were in power. These two kinds of areas represented not only two different environments, but also two different historical eras--a semicolonial and semifeudal society and a new democratic society. Many revolutionary literary and art workers had materialized their ideals. But due to the shortcomings of the new literature and art, the new literary and art workers failed to adapt themselves to the new environment and coordinate with the new masses. Some erroneous works and theory emerged, and this was detrimental to uniting the people to fulfill new revolutionary tasks. It was necessary to solve this serious problem so as to enable literary and art workers to advance in a healthy manner.

To solve this problem, Comrade Mao Zedong carried out investigation and study on many occasions and had talks with many comrades in the literature and art circles. In connection with the domestic and international situation, he studied the achievements and shortcomings in revolutionary literature and art since the "4 May" Movement, the requirements of the people in revolutionary base areas for literature and art, and the problems being argued in literature and art work in Yanan and other revolutionary base areas, and put forward fundamental principles and suggestions with regard to solving the above problems and to enabling revolutionary literature and art work to adapt itself to the new environment, new historical era, new masses, new tasks, and new requirements. All this is included in the "Talk at Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," which was a product of combining the universal truth of Marxism with China's concrete practice and is an important component of Mao Zedong Thought.



After investigation, Comrade Mao Zedong found that "many comrades still had the shortcomings of indulging in idealism, dogmatism, fantasy, and empty talk, and of looking down upon practice and being divorced from the masses," and that the most fundamental thing was that many literary and art workers had not solved or had not thoroughly solved the problem of who to serve. We know that since the emergence of class society, literature and art belonging to a certain class has always served its own class. Should revolutionary literature and art not serve the people? Were most of the writers who came to Yanan not "left-wing" writers? Were many of them not Communist Party members? All this was true. But things were not so simple. Lu Xun was, after all, most farsighted. He pointed out: If a "left-wing" writer merely writes articles in his room without keeping in touch with practical social struggle, or if he does not understand the real situation in revolution and difficulties in revolutionary work but has a romantic fantasy on revolution, he will lose hope once he makes contact with revolution and practical problems. Therefore, a "left-wing" writer can easily become a "right-wing" writer. Lu Xun's words gave expression to the shortcomings of many literary and art workers who came to the caves in Yanan from the "garrets" in Shanghai and other cities. Therefore, self-styled revolutionary or "left-wing" literary and art workers have not necessarily solved the problem of serving the masses. To solve this problem, they must, in ideology, understand the people and the great role of the workers, peasants, and soldiers in revolution. Moreover, they must, in feeling, love the workers, peasants, and soldiers. This requires them to leave their small rooms and come to the broad field of the workers, peasants and soldiers, transform their subjective world while transforming the objective world together with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and maintain flesh-and-blood ties with the people in ideology and feeling. Without combining with the people and practice, it will be impossible to serve the people heart and soul.

Revolutionary literary and art workers should join with the people. This is an important principle of proletarian literature and art as well as the essence of Mao Zedong's literature and art thought. It was impossible for Marx and Engels to put forward such a principle in their era. After the October Revolution, Lenin once urged upon Gorkiy the necessity for leaving Petersburg, which was mostly populated by the bourgeoisie, and going to the places where the workers, peasants, and soldiers accounted for 90 percent of the Russian population to observe new things and make contacts with a new life. But it was Comrade Mao Zedong who first put forward the fundamental principle of proletarian literature and art under which literary and art workers should join with the people and with the workers, peasants and soldiers. This was Comrade Mao Zedong's creative development of and major contribution to Marxist literature and art thought.

Revolutionary literary and art workers in Yanan and other revolutionary base areas warmly accepted this principle. From a "small literature and art circle," they went to a "large literature and art circle of a mass character." They left their studies and went to factories, the rural areas, the armed forces, and cooperatives. This enabled them to find the rich resources in the people's life and the sources for their works, to absorb the lively language of the people, and to familiarize themselves with the forms and characteristics of national literature and art. In particular, it enabled them to change their ideology and feelings and to establish flesh-and-blood ties with the people. Writers and artists began to create works with new features. These works reached a new height insofar as historical contents, characters, mass language, and forms are concerned.

Some people said that Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talk at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was written according to the situation in Yanan at that time, that it was suited only to a given time and place in Yanan, and that it was no longer applicable after liberation. This viewpoint is wrong. It is true that the Yanan forum on literature and art was held to solve problems in literature and art work in Yanan at that time and that Comrade Mao Zedong had consistently been in favor of bringing forth, discussing, and solving problems by proceeding from practice. However, the problems in Yanan's literature and art work had not emerged in a sudden manner. They had historical causes. Many literary and art workers had lived for a long time in regions ruled by big landlords and big bourgeoisie. It was impossible for them to join with the workers, peasants, and soldiers. The readers of their works were mainly petit bourgeois intellectuals and their ideology and feelings were of petit bourgeois nature. Thus, upon their arrival in places where the people were the masters of the land, they began to feel like a square peg in a round hole. Therefore, the problems in Yanan's literature and art circles could not be separated from the shortcomings of the new literature and art, which were caused by long-standing historical reasons. Problems to be solved in Yanan's literature and art circles were problems in the country's revolutionary literature and art circles. In addition, although Yanan and other revolutionary bases were small in area, they were developing and had bright prospects. They were the image of a new China. But the regions under the imperialist and KMT reactionary rule were decadent and [word indistinct], and their reactionary rule was finally overthrown by the people. The past era is gone once and for all. The new, revolutionary literature and art had no choice but to follow the new China. It could no longer remain in the old world. Therefore, guiding policies and fundamental principles for Yanan's literature and art work can also be applied to nationwide literature and art work in post-liberation days. Because China's literary and art workers have accepted and adhered to Comrade Mao Zedong's literature and art thought, upheld the principle of making literature and art serve the people and, in particular, the workers, peasants, and soldiers, persisted in living among the workers, peasants and soldiers, and taken the road of combining with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, they have achieved great successes over the past 40 years, and they played a very positive role in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, in the war of liberation, and in socialist revolution and construction.

Over the past few years liberalization has emerged in literature and art circles. Some people have propagated the decadent bourgeois ideology and spread spiritual pollution in their works and performances in total disregard of social influence. For the purpose of making money, they have regarded their spiritual products as commodities. There are various causes for this phenomenon, causes emerging from the 10 years of internal disorder and coming from foreign countries. But the most important thing is that many literary and art workers have forgotten or negated Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching that literature and art should serve the people, that literary and art workers should combine themselves with the people, and they should use communist spirit to educate and unite the people. Anyone forgetting or deviating from this orientation, road, and responsibility will inevitably make mistakes.

Of course, we should not adopt a rigid attitude toward Comrade Mao Zedong's expositions on literature and art. When we say that Comrade Mao Zedong's basic principles on literature and art are correct, we do not mean that every word of his "represented the truth." In fact, following the change in the objective situation and the gradual development of subjective understanding, ideology or theory should be constantly supplemented or revised. After the liberation of the entire country, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and the principle of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China," which would have been impossible in the Yanan period. But once he departed from the principle of seeking truth from facts, he could not avoid making mistakes. Take, for example, the "two written instructions" he gave with regard to the literature and art problem. These two instructions were issued without making any investigation and study and, therefore, did not correspond to objective reality. This was in contrast to what he did before the talk at the Yanan forum on literature and art, which was written after full investigation and study.

Today, the CPC Central Committee pays close attention to literature and art work. Thesis on literature and art in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and the opinions of the central responsible comrades concerned on literature and art have explicitly expounded the line, principles, and policies concerning literature and art work in the new period. This is a new development of Mao Zedong's literature and art thought. Before liberation, our literature and art work was to ensure the victory of the war. Now, our literature and art work is to ensure peace, to serve the "four modernizations," and to meet the people's cultural needs. The CPC Central Committee has used the proposition that "literature and art should serve the people and socialism" to replace the past proposition of "literature and art being subordinated to politics." This has made more explicit the aim of literature and art work, which is to serve the great socialist cause. It has also opened up broader avenues for literature and art work. In this way, the contents and forms in literature and art will be full of variety. In addition, it will enable us to overcome the shortcoming of exercising rude and narrow-minded leadership over literature and art work.

The CPC Central Committee has explicitly pointed out that the basic principles of Mao Zedong's literature and art thought are correct and that these principles not only guided the literature and art work in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and in the war of liberation, but are also guiding the literature and art work since the founding of the PRC. Today, in building and developing socialist literature and art and in the struggle of eliminating spiritual pollution, we must conscientiously study Mao Zedong's literature and art thought and continue to advance along the correct road pointed out by Comrade Mao Zedong!

CSO: 4005/283

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

POPULATION CENSUS SEMINAR HELD--Kunming, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--A seminar on China's 1982 population census which closed here today selected 25 papers on census taking, population analysis and forecasting for an international symposium to be held in Beijing next March. China's third national census conducted on July 1, 1982, has been closely watched by population scientists worldwide because of the magnitude and high quality of the work. The census put China's population at 1,031,882,511. Chinese population experts are still in the process of analysing the census data. Work is in progress on population structure and population problems and forecasting. The seminar, held from December 15 to 21, was attended by 112 population researchers. Eighty papers were presented. [Text] [OW211242 Beijing XINHUA in English 1148 GMT 21 Dec 83]

GET-TOGETHER FOR YOUNG PEOPLE--Beijing, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--China's young people were encouraged to make contributions to the country's socialist construction and to improving social ethics at a get-together here today. The get-together was sponsored by the All-China Youth Federation for Young People in the Chinese capital to mark the forthcoming New Year's Day. Hu Jintao, president of the All-China Youth Federation, said the late Chairman Mao Zedong always showed great care for the young people and supported their initiative. China's younger generation will always go forward along the road of Mao Zedong Thought, he said. Hu Jintao also extended festive greetings to young people of all nationalities across the country, including young people in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao. Huang Zhicheng and Hou Dejian who had returned here from Taiwan sang Taiwanese songs. [Text] [OW261814 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 26 Dec 83]

CHINESE SCHOLARS STUDY ABROAD--Beijing, 29 Dec (XINHUA)--The Chinese Academy of Sciences has sent more than 2,800 scholars and postgraduates overseas on research or study projects since 1978. About 1,400 of them have returned to join academy research institutes. Their projects now make up one-fourth of the major research programs listed by the state and the academy, officials said. Many have also been promoted to leading posts at their institutes or laboratories. A survey of 1,211 returned scholars conducted by the academy showed that the majority did quite well and 20 percent had achieved innovative results while working abroad. Over 20 have applied for patents on their research in foreign countries, while 24 have been awarded doctorates. Hong

Guofan, an assistant researcher at the Shanghai Institute of Biochemistry, developed new techniques for the analysis of DNA--the basic building blocks of life--while working as a visiting scholar at the Laboratory of Molecular Biology of the Medical Research Council of Britain. He has since been promoted to the position of research fellow by the academy. The academy said the returned scholars and postgraduates are playing an important role in pioneering new fields in scientific research. [Text] [OW290323 Beijing XINHUA in English 0253 GMT 29 Dec 83]

DEMOCRATIC PARTIES EXPAND AID--Hohhot, 21 Dec (XINHUA)--Advisory services run by China's eight democratic parties have helped enterprises in Inner Mongolia increase their income by 1.75 million dollars, this year, according to officials here. Forty-three groups of 306 experts have been sent to Inner Mongolia by the democratic parties from Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai and several provinces. They held 90 lectures of seminars attended by 80,000 local people, and conducted five training courses on animal husbandry, book-keeping and foreign languages. The advisory services were also offered to 72 factories and [word indistinct]. Among the specialists travelling to Inner Mongolia were sociologist Fei Xiaotong, physicist Qian Weichang and economist Qian Jiaju. The advisory services were originated in 1981 by the Federation of Industry and Commerce in Inner Mongolia, and later joined by other democratic parties. The services now aid urban construction, medicine, education, commerce and other fields. [Text] [OW211616 Beijing XINHUA in English 1430 GMT 21 Dec 83]

MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT--The No 1 issue of MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT STUDIES, China's first academic and theoretical journal on Mao Zedong Thought, was recently published and distributed nationwide. The journal aims to study Mao Zedong Thought in an all-round way through the study of philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, party history, literature and art, education, and military science. It also focuses on studying the new situations, experiences and problems that arise in the course of adhering to and developing Mao Zedong Thought and the building [of] socialism with Chinese characteristics since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The journal was compiled by the Sichuan Chapter of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and other units. [Text] [OW232205 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 21 Dec 83]

BOOKS ON MAO CALLIGRAPHY--Beijing, 24 Dec (XINHUA)--To commemorate Comrade Mao Zedong's 90th birth anniversary, the Archives Publishing House, the Cultural Relics Publishing House, and the People's Arts Publishing House are currently printing the "Selected Facsimiles of Mao Zedong's Inscriptions" and the "Selected Ancient Poems Hand Copied by Mao Zedong" which are both edited by the Central Archives. Included in these two books are items featuring Comrade Mao Zedong's calligraphy that have never been published before. "Selected Facsimile of Mao Zedong's Inscriptions" includes 163 items he wrote between 1938 and 1956 covering a wide scope of topics and which are rich in content. Comrade Mao Zedong's inscriptions have inspired the broad masses of the people in waging struggles to win the revolutionary war and the socialist revolution and construction. At present and in future, they will surely continue to inspire us in working hard to build a modern and powerful socialist nation with a high level of material and spiritual civilizations. "Selected Ancient Poems Hand-Copied by Mao Zedong" consists of 117 ancient poems hand-copied by Comrade Mao Zedong in his after-work hours during the fifties and sixties, mostly in the running or cursive style, with a few in regular style. Items contained in the book are rare arts of calligraphy. [Text] [OW261020 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0756 GMT 24 Dec 83]

THEORETICAL JOURNAL--Beijing, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--In order to meet the objective needs in regularizing the central party school and in educating the cadres of our country, the CPC Central Committee Party School has decided to publish the LI LUN YUE KAN [3810 6158 2588 0436], a theoretical journal with an assortment of features in the field of philosophy and social sciences. The journal's objectives are: to uphold the four basic principles, integrate theories with practice, study the various theoretical issues and major current issues on the ideological front appearing in the course of building a Chinese-style socialism, propagate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and serve the building of a high material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. The principal readers are the nation's party and government leaders at and above the county level and the party's theoretical propagators. The first issue of LI LUN YUE KAN will be published on 25 December. Its main columns include "In Commemoration of Comrade Mao Zedong's 90th Birthday Anniversary," "Rectify the Party's Ideology, Work Style, and Organization," and "Strengthen the Work of the Ideological Front." The issue also carried Comrade Wang Zhen's inscription and articles by Comrades Deng Liqun, Jiang Nanxiang, Yang Xianzhen, Liu Fuzhi, and Han Shuying, as well as articles by other theoretical workers. [Text] [OW190832 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1142 GMT 16 Dec 83]

CSO: 4005/283

EAST REGION

JI PENGFEI REVIEWS GUERRILLA CAMPAIGN

OW270401 Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 15 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by Ji Pengfei: "Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition, Create a New Situation in Construction--Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Victory of the Struggle Against the 'Countryside Cleanup' Campaign in the 4th District of Central Jiangsu"]

[Text] As we commemorate the 40th anniversary of the victory of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign in the 4th District of Central Jiangsu, we deeply cherish the memory of the revolutionary martyrs who gave their lives in fighting for national liberation. Their great contributions will go down in the annals of history. In the past 40 years, our party has led the Chinese people in defeating Japanese imperialism, overthrowing the Kuomintang's reactionary rule and turning semifeudal and semicolonial old China into socialist New China. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee set things right following the decade of turmoil, our country's socialist construction has embarked on a road of sound development. We have accomplished and are continuing to accomplish the unfinished tasks of the revolutionary martyrs. This is what we can report to the revolutionary martyrs.

Forty years have elapsed from the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign to the present. In these 40 years, tremendous changes have taken place in Nantong as in the rest of the country. Forty years ago, Nantong City was the center of political, economic and cultural rule of the Japanese and their puppets in this area. But there were few factories and hardly any presentable buildings here then. Today Nantong has begun to take shape as a city of light and textile industry. The city's total industrial output value in 1982 was 46 times that in the early period after liberation. The city's per capita industrial output value has reached 10,000 yuan. Very significant development has also been achieved in agricultural production in the various counties under the city's jurisdiction. The people's living standards have seen great improvements. A picture of prosperity prevails everywhere.

Of course, we are not satisfied with the successes we have achieved. We shall create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization under the guidance of the correct line laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th

Party Central Committee and according to the strategic goals set by the 12th Party Congress. For this reason, we must conscientiously sum up historical experience, inherit and carry forward the revolutionary tradition, do propaganda among the masses and educate the masses with communist and patriotic ideas and make special efforts to help the younger generation become people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education and a sense of discipline and make still greater contributions to the socialist modernization of the Jiang-Hai plain. In this light, it is still of great practical significance for us to review the fighting course of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign of 40 years ago and sum up the basic experience of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign.

The "countryside cleanup" campaign was a product of the policy of "using Chinese to curb Chinese" and "making the war sustain itself" pursued by Japanese imperialism in occupied China. Its purpose was to consolidate its occupied areas in central and south China and plunder strategic materials and economic resources to support its war of aggression against China and its new military adventure in the Pacific region.

The Changjiang delta is one of China's richest and most populous areas, and it had an extremely important position and role politically, economically and militarily. After 1938, the anti-Japanese guerrilla war with the New 4th Army as the main force developed vigorously here. In southern Jiangsu, the anti-Japanese base area with Maoshan as its center was established. In central Jiangsu, since 1940 anti-Japanese democratic political organizations had been set up widely and strengthened continuously under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Therefore, in selecting this area as the starting point of the "countryside cleanup" campaign, the Japanese and their puppets had extremely obvious strategic intentions.

## I

From 1941 to the summer of 1942 the "countryside cleanup" campaign launched by the Japanese and their puppets in southern Jiangsu encountered courageous resistance from the anti-Japanese resistance forces and people in the area. In April 1943 the Japanese and their puppets launched another "cleanup" campaign in central Jiangsu. Located near the river and the sea, the Fourth District of central Jiangsu could be easily sealed off from the rest of the region and was therefore designated by the Japanese and their puppets as one of the areas north of Changjiang in Jiangsu targeted for the first-stage "cleanup" campaign. Thus, the Fourth District's struggle was in fact the first battle in the struggle against the "cleanup" campaign in central Jiangsu.

In early 1943, with the concern of the Party Central Committee and under the leadership of the higher-level party committee, the Fourth District Party Committee and the Fourth Military District made a full appraisal of the situation of struggle and led the soldiers and civilians in the base area to fully prepare against the "cleanup" campaign in the ideological, political, organizational, economic and cultural fields. In particular, they extensively and profoundly mobilized the vast numbers of cadres and masses and strengthened



their confidence in winning the struggle against the "cleanup." A unified leadership was established in the party, government and army, and organizational structures were streamlined. A large number of cadres were dispatched to the grassroots to strengthen leadership. At the same time concrete steps were taken to prepare against war, including transformation of the terrain and organization of logistic support.

In April 1943 the Japanese and their puppets moved in some 14,000 troops to launch a large-scale military "cleanup" campaign against the Fourth District. In the face of the enemy's threatening thrust, we upheld the policy of openly conducting armed struggle. On the one hand, we moved our main force out of the "cleanup" area and attacked the enemy on the exterior lines whenever the occasion demanded. On the other hand, we organized and led a strong contingent of cadres, a selected armed force and local troops and militia to fight the enemy on the interior lines and wage a widespread mass guerrilla warfare. As a result, when the enemy closed in in full strength to "cleanup," they only found that we had already left. At the same time, the vast numbers of local armed force and militia employed such flexible tactics as sabotage, ambush, sparrow warfare and harassment to deal blows to the Japanese and their puppets. Victories in many small-scale operations punctured the enemy's arrogance.

To cut off the "cleanup" area's outside communications, stop the spread of armed resistance against Japan and obstruct the flow of supplies, the Japanese and their puppets tried to build a 300-li-long bamboo fence around the "cleanup" area and set up some 150 checkpoints of different sizes. To frustrate the enemy's blockade attempt, the district's subordinate counties mobilized the masses to undermine the construction by dilatory and other tactics. As a result, the fence could not be completed in many sections. In July and August 1943 tens of thousands of soldiers and civilians conducted numerous operations to burn down the fence along the line of blockade. The fire destroyed the blockade fence, which the Japanese and their puppets painstakingly built, beyond repair.

In June 1943 the Japanese and their puppets instituted by force the "bao-jia" system. [An administrative system organized on the basis of households, each jia being made up of 10 households, and each bao of 10 jia, by which the Japanese tried to tighten their control.] In light of this, we organized the grassroots cadres and able-bodied people to move out from the central area and disperse. In the border area, we employed "double-dealing" tactics to undermine their efforts, such as deliberately stalling, messing around or faking, or mobilizing the militia and guerrillas to destroy number plates after the numbering of households was completed. This frustrated the enemy's attempt to enforce their puppet rule through the "bao-jia" system. In late September 1943 the Japanese and their puppets were forced to postpone the "cleanup" for 3 months. During this 3-month period they employed the reactionary tactics of "transforming their military personnel into special agents and arming their special agents with weapons" and "countering guerrilla warfare with guerrilla warfare" and frenziedly slaughtered our cadres, militia-men and people. In the face of such a grim situation, the Fourth District

Party Committee timely adopted new struggle tactics, calling for "continuing open struggle, strengthening auxiliary struggle and slackening the enemy's vigilance in order to alleviate the situation." It strengthened the use of various forms of covert and auxiliary struggle and launched a comprehensive struggle to frustrate the "cleanup" campaign and the enemy's attempt to turn people into their puppets, operate special agents, arrest people and recruit and train able-bodied men for their use. Its actions seized back the initiative in the struggle.

After the postponement, the Japanese and their puppets resumed their activities in the beginning of 1944, calling for a "highly intensified countryside cleanup campaign." Taking advantage of the weak point of the Japanese and their puppets scattered, we adopted the tactic of concentrating our forces on a limited frontline and avoiding contact where the enemy was in a solid position and attacking where he was not. In this way, we dealt effective blows at the enemy. At the same time, our main force operating outside the cleanup area also took the initiative to take coordinated actions by launching frequent attacks. It went all out to support the fighting on the interior lines. In March 1944 the New 4th Army in central Jiangsu launched the Cheqiao battle in which it won an unprecedentedly great victory. The strategic links between the areas north and south of the Huai He, northern Jiangsu and Central Jiangsu were further strengthened and the military pressure from the Japanese and their puppets in the Fourth District was reduced. In view of the improvement in the situation for us, the armymen and civilians in the Fourth District launched, beginning in May and June 1944, a mighty summer-autumn offensive that focused on the enemy's strongholds. By October 1944 we had basically recovered all the areas occupied by the Japanese and their puppets since the "countryside cleanup" campaign was launched. Not only that, we also weakened the enemy and strengthened ourselves. Thus an important victory was won in the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign in the Fourth District of central Jiangsu.

The struggle against the "cleanup" campaign in the Fourth District of central Jiangsu was a very acute, ruthless and arduous one. It was a comprehensive struggle carried out mainly in the military field but also in the political, economic and cultural fields as well. It was an all-round struggle carried out mainly through armed struggle but also by combining overt and covert operations, combining "legal" and "illegal" operations and closely coordinating fighting on the exterior lines with fighting on the interior lines. It was a complex struggle which was carried out mainly in the form of national struggle but which also reflected the class struggle. Through this arduous struggle, the party organizations at all levels in the Fourth District passed a rigorous test and the broad masses of armymen and civilians were tempered and educated. Judged from this angle, it can be said that the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign was both a large battlefield for mass guerrilla warfare and a big school and cauldron for the anti-Japanese armymen and civilians to get steeled.

The victory of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign in the Fourth District was a victory that belonged to all anti-Japanese armymen

and civilians in the entire central Jiangsu area. The armymen and civilians of the Fourth District, being in a region of level land, persisted in waging an armed struggle by staying where they were, thereby shattering the plot of the Japanese and their puppets and their vain attempt to place central Jiangsu under their all-round occupation and turn over the entire area to the control of the puppet regime. This was of great significance in consolidating and developing the anti-Japanese and democratic base area in central Jiangsu. The heroic exploits performed by the armymen and civilians of the Fourth District in the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign represented a glorious page in the annals of the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan.

## II

The success of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign in the Fourth District of central Jiangsu was closely connected with the success of China's War of Resistance Against Japan and the international antifascist war. We can draw the following basic experiences from this struggle:

First, the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign was an armed struggle of the masses, and the extensive mobilization and participation of the masses laid a solid foundation for winning success.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "The richest source of power in waging war lies in the masses to people." This celebrated thesis points to a universal law: only by fully mobilizing the masses and firmly relying on them can we expect to win a war. The experience of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign fully testifies to the correctness of the thesis.

In the winter of 1940 the New 4th Army advanced eastward to Nantong, Rugao, Haimen and Qidong. After waging an arduous struggle for 2 years and more, the Fourth District of central Jiangsu was gradually built into a firm democratic base in the War of Resistance Against Japan. By establishing a political regime, an army and a people's militia, as well as mass organizations or workers, peasants, youths and women, the masses created the best conditions for the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign. Having launched the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign, we had the best advantage, that is, the masses of people stood on our side throughout, despite the fact that we were confronted by a militarily superior enemy and hostile terrain. Through extensive and thorough ideological mobilization, the broad masses of people closely united around the party to form a national united front in the War of Resistance Against Japan, thus isolating the enemy to the maximum extent. In the course of intense and fierce struggle, we brought into play the superior role of the masses and overcame our weakness in military strength by extensively waging a guerrilla war of the masses and engaging in overt and covert, "legal" and "illegal," military and political tit-for-tat struggles against the Japanese and the puppet troops. In this way we succeeded in perpetuating the struggle in the district.

Because the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign protected the immediate interests of the broad masses of people, it was able to fully mobilize the masses and bring into play their wisdom and creativeness. The masses of people were fully aware that if the Japanese and the puppet troops succeeded in their "countryside cleanup" campaign, they would become slaves of a foreign power. They also knew that only by completely frustrating the campaign could they hope to preserve their fruits of victory, and that only the communist party and the New 4th Army could lead them in the struggle. Consequently, the people wholeheartedly supported us, did their best to assist us and consciously rose up to wage a deadly struggle against the enemy. At critical moments many people stepped forward and sacrificed their lives in order to shield our cadres and fighters. The extensive mobilization and participation of the broad masses of people in the struggle engulfed the enemy in the boundless ocean of people's war.

War educated the people and the people won the war. The broad masses of people were profoundly educated time and again by the arduous and triumphant battles. They were aware of their strength and responsibility, consciously plunged into the battle and became heroic fighters against the Japanese aggressors. The victory of the surging mass struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign was, in essence, the victory of people's war.

Second, firm and unshakable revolutionary belief and persistent and dauntless fighting spirit were the extremely valuable spiritual props for winning victory of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign and the source of strength of vanquish the enemy.

The struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign in the Fourth District of central Jiangsu was waged in extremely harsh and cruel circumstances, and every comrade was at all times faced with a rigorous test between life and death. But their firm and unshakable lofty belief in communism, their persistent and dauntless fighting spirit and their indestructible great determination displayed immense power in the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign. They refused to retreat in the face of hardships and dangers, refused to yield despite cruel tortures and never turned their coats in trying situations. In battle, they charged forward and faced dangers fearlessly. On the execution ground, they inspired awe by their righteous spirit and faced death unflinchingly. Among our prefectural and county leading members were a number of Red Army fighters who had engaged in the Soviet movement and fought in the Agrarian Revolutionary War before joining the War of Resistance Against Japan. In the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign, they exemplarily led and educated the new generation of proletarian revolutionary fighters to consciously fight against the national and class enemies, passing on the revolutionary torch from generation to generation.

In the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign, all people who had national pride and self-confidence joined together to form the broadest anti-Japanese national united front under the tremendously appealing banner of patriotism and to wage a life-and-death struggle against Japanese

imperialism and the traitors and collaborators. Many of them grew up from patriots to staunch communists. In the 2 years of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign, our party, people and army sustained very great losses. Their dedication always deserves to be emulated, inherited and carried forward by us.

Third, adopting an overall point of view, subordination to the interests of the whole, mutual support and close coordination were the indispensable conditions for victory of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign.

The struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign in the Fourth District of central Jiangsu was a major event which concerned the overall situation in central Jiangsu. Under the unified leadership of the Central Jiangsu Area Party Committee, not only the soldiers and civilians of the Fourth District were making concerted efforts, but all other parts of the central Jiangsu area were giving all-out support and selfless assistance. In thinking over problems, handling affairs and formulating policies, the party organizations and democratic governments at various levels did not proceed from the local interests but consciously served the needs of the area as a whole, insuring that all requirements for manpower, money and grain were met, subordinating everything to the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign and doing everything for the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign. Therefore, the victory of the struggle of the Fourth District against the "countryside cleanup" campaign was also a victory for all soldiers and civilians in the entire central Jiangsu area.

The practice of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign enables us to understand that whether or not we take the interests of the whole into account is an important question of principle which has a bearing on the success or failure of the revolution, and is an important mark to judge the degree of a revolutionary's consciousness. In revolutionary struggle, it is imperative to properly handle the relationship between the part and the whole and to place the interests of the whole above everything else. Because this principle was upheld in the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign, all the relevant principles and policies formulated by the party were thoroughly understood and firmly implemented at every level, and there never was any unified leadership for the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign and formed an incomparably mighty fighting force.

Subordinating oneself to the interests of the whole is not an easy thing to do. Sometimes it is necessary to make sacrifices. When there is a contradiction between the local and the overall interests and between the individual and the whole, it is very necessary to encourage the sacrificing spirit and revolutionary style. For the overall situation and the interests of the whole, it is imperative to sacrifice the local and individual interests. We must sacrifice the local interests in exchange for overall victory and sacrifice the individual interests in exchange for the nation's liberation. In the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign, an individual

might have to sacrifice or lose his life, property, family, marriage and everything else, but many comrades were fully prepared to unconditionally sacrifice everything including their lives when necessary. This noble character of putting the interests of the whole above everything else demonstrated by them is our party's precious spiritual wealth.

Fourth, the party's strong leadership was the fundamental guarantee for the victory in the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign.

The struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign was a complex and arduous struggle. The great victory of this struggle could not have been won had it not been for the party's leadership, which was primarily exemplified by its lines, principles and policies. In addition to the clear-cut principles for our struggle set by the Party Central Committee and the Central China Bureau of the Party Central Committee, the party committee of the Central Jiangsu District also constantly discussed and studied the situation of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign and timely informed us of the development of the struggle as well as its specific strategy and tactics. From the very beginning of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign, the Fourth District Party Committee, following the instructions of the higher-level party committee, had a firm grasp of the enemy's situation. It was able to accurately analyze the situation and formulated a complete series of policies and tactics to be carried out during the struggle, thus ensuring the victory in the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign.

The party's strong leadership was also exemplified by the pivotal role played by the various party organizations and the vanguard role played by the broad masses of party members. No matter how serious the situation was and how threatening the enemy activities were during the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign, all party organizations operated normally and many party branches became fighting fortresses playing the role of uniting the masses to fight against the Japanese and their puppets. Keeping firmly in mind the objective of serving the people wholeheartedly, the broad masses of party members and cadres were determined to live and die with the masses and share weal and woe with them. They were the first to bear hardship and charge forward against the enemy and the last to enjoy comforts or to retreat. They set an example for the masses by exemplarily executing the party's decisions. Because of the party's policies and the party members' actual deeds, the broad masses of people deepened their understanding of our party and decided to work with the party in carrying out the struggle against the Japanese and their puppets through to the end. The party thus enjoyed high prestige among the masses. It had their complete trust, and the relations between the party and the masses were close. That was the fundamental reason why our party was powerful, and why fine traditions and work style demonstrated by party organizations and individual party members were essential to strengthening the party's leadership.

Penetrating and sustained ideological and political work was an important aspect in strengthening party leadership. The struggle against the

"countryside cleanup" campaign was an overall struggle and a highly complex operation. Regarding ideological and political work as the central link and taking into account the actual thinking of the cadres and the people at all levels and among all circles, the party from beginning to end constantly carried out widespread, penetrating and effective ideological and political education to mobilize the cadres and the people and repeatedly educated them on patriotism, national spirit, revolutionary traditions and the current situation and policies. Such penetrating and sustained ideological and political work carried out with a specific objective in mind aroused their zeal to struggle, heightened their ideological level, reaffirmed their confidence in winning victories and transformed our party's principles and policies of the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign into the voluntary actions of the cadres and the masses.

### III

The rich experiences gained by army men and people during the struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign in the Fourth District of central Jiangsu are a vast spiritual wealth, which is still being used to guide Nantong's socialist modernization today.

Being sentimentally attached to Nantong, I heartily rejoice at the enormous changes made in Nantong over the past 40 years and I place great hopes on its future development.

The 12th Party Congress and the 1st Plenary Session of the 6th NPC have set the lines and formulated a complete set of principles and policies for China's socialist modernization as well as the specific tasks to be accomplished in building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics. These lines, principles and policies are highly correct and compatible with our country's situation. They must be resolutely implemented.

Nantong has relatively favorable geographical conditions, its commodity economy is quite developed and its cotton output is also quite high. Today Nantong has also become part of the Shanghai economic zone. It is hoped that Nantong's economic construction will be accomplished even faster and better in accordance with its actual situation as well as the construction plan put forward by Premier Zhao Ziyang at the First Session of the Sixth NPC so that it can accumulate more new experiences for China's modernization.

Premier Zhao Ziyang, in his government work report at that session, said that "the success or failure of key construction projects has an important bearing on the future of modernization and on the fundamental interests of the people throughout the country. The whole nation must support key construction projects, and the entire working class and people of all nationalities must contribute their efforts to expediting key construction projects." It is hoped that the people of Nantong, who already have exerted great efforts in supporting key construction projects, will make still greater contributions in the future. In their struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign 40 years ago, all army men and people took the interests of the whole

into account and served the needs of struggle. Today we must also place the interests of the whole in first place and support and expedite key construction projects with practical deeds.

Reform of our administrative organs and economic system has been a major event in our country's social and economic development. It is hoped that Nantong, which has already adopted the administrative system of placing adjacent counties under its jurisdiction, will continue to display its spirit of reform, continue to seek and accumulate new experiences in reform and accomplish new successes so that its reform will develop soundly along the correct course charted by the Party Central Committee and the State Council.

The central authorities have also decided to attach great importance to cultural construction, with emphasis given to the development of education, science and technology, in the next 5 years. This is an essential precondition for economic revitalization. Our country has decided to promote all types and all forms of education of various levels, demanding that efforts be exerted in developing education for workers and peasants so that the scientific and educational level of the whole nation can be pushed to a higher level. Intellectuals are an important force in socialist modernization. In this regard, Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang [order as printed] and other leading comrades of the central authorities have issued a series of instructions while the Party Central Committee has also formulated a series of principles and policies. Our work today lies in properly implementing the policies regarding intellectuals and in taking effective measures to improve their working conditions. Nantong has laid a sound foundation for its cultural and educational work, and has accomplished fairly good results in the development of intellectual resources. It is hoped that it will continue to do a good job and achieve still greater success in this regard.

The Party Central Committee has pointed out time and again that, while building a high level socialist material civilization, it is essential to build a civilization with a high socialist spirit. In building a civilization with socialist spirit, ideological construction plays a decisive role. The people of Nantong, who have glorious revolutionary traditions, must set a good example in building a civilization with socialist spirit, and continue to carry forward their staunch communist conviction and their dedication to serving the people as manifested in their struggle against the "countryside cleanup" campaign.

Strengthening propaganda and education on patriotism is an important task in building socialist spiritual civilization and is also an important factor in carrying out propaganda, education and ideological and political work. In the great struggle and practice of revitalizing China and promoting the four modernizations, we must hold aloft the banner of patriotism, persist in carrying out education on patriotism and gradually raise the masses' patriotic consciousness to the level of communist thinking. Advanced people like Zhang Haidi and Zhu Boru are outstanding representatives in building socialist spiritual civilization. They have inherited the revolutionary tradition of the proletariat and are firm practitioners of the spirit of



patriotism and communist thinking. We should all learn from them. We should foster lofty ideals of communism, love the party, love the motherland, love the people, love socialism and struggle hard to vigorously promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is a general program for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This brilliant document shows Comrade Deng Xiaoping's pioneering spirit on a series of important issues and also his fine style of drawing on collective wisdom, absorbing all useful ideas and adhering to democratic centralism and the mass line. This document can be said to be a compilation of the correct opinions of the Party Central Committee. It systematically reflects the correct leadership of the party as represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. It is a new achievement of our party in adhering to and developing Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical condition.

Studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" can help us enhance our understanding of the guidelines of the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. Studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is not only of immediate significance in creating a new situation of building socialist modernization at present but also of great importance in guiding us to unify the thinking of the whole party and of the people of all nationalities in our country and build China into a modern socialist state with a high degree of civilization and democracy in the present historical period. We should all conscientiously study this work and use its guidelines in carrying out party rectification and all other work.

Since the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has made great efforts to fundamentally improve the party's style of work and formulated a clear policy. We have achieved very good results. The recent 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee adopted the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification" and made an important policy decision on eliminating spiritual pollution. It is hoped that the party organizations at various levels and all communist party members in Nantong will maintain and carry forward our party's honorable tradition and style of work cultivated since the revolutionary war years, work hard continuously, maintain close ties with the masses of people, show concern for and love for the people and serve the people wholeheartedly. With the joint efforts of all comrades of our party, we shall do a good job in rectifying and building our party and contribute to fundamentally improving the party's style.

Like the people of the whole country, the people of Nantong are faced with honorable and arduous tasks. I firmly believe that, under the leadership of the party, so long as the more than 7 million people of Nantong advance along the direction pointed out by the 12th CPC National Congress and carry forward the revolutionary tradition of struggle against the "countryside clean-up" campaign, they can certainly achieve still greater successes in building socialist modernization in the Jiang-Hai plain.

CSO: 4005/278

EAST REGION

WARNING AGAINST SABOTAGE ISSUED IN NANJING

Nanjing DANG DE SHENGUO /PARTY LIFE/ in Chinese No 1, 1983 p 47

/Commentary: "Strictly Guard against Sabotage Activities by the 'Three Types of People'"/

/Text/ Gzng leaders like Shao Chuang /6730 7068/ and Liu Ruizhi /0491 3843 5347/, taking advantage of the memorial meeting for Wang Wanjia /3769 5502 0502/, have banded together with their gang members to resort to factional activities in an unscrupulous way. This once again illustrates that an extremely small number of the remnant elements of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques have by no means become resigned to their defeat. Even though their numbers are limited, their potential is by no means insignificant. Among them some have already been dismissed or separated from their leading posts; but some of them are still not willing to express regret about their faults or to seek self-renovation, and the continue to resort to wave-making whenever there is a chance. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "The organizational and ideological remnants of the 'Gang of Four' still remain; we must not underestimate the potential of these remnant elements, lest mistakes result." The party's organizations and leading cadres at various levels must heighten their vigilance toward this fact and strictly guard against sabotage activities by the "three types of people."

This incident once again indicates that factionalism remains stubborn in the minds of certain people, and it is also very dangerous to let factionalism develop unchecked. In the case of certain gang elements," while there seems to be no mountain top in evidence, there are hidden snags; their true situation will become known only at the crucial moment." Some of them have succeeded in occupying certain posts of leadership by capitalizing on their participation in acts of rebellion and, after they were removed from those posts, remained undaunted in their aspirations and therefore continued to exchange visits with one another in their effort to carry out factional activities. The fact that people like Shao Chuang sprang forth to stage such activities on the occasion of a memorial meeting is nothing but a malignant development by such recourse to factional activities. In thus incurring solemn punishment under party discipline, they had no one else to blame except themselves. This services to sound a knell of warning to all those who have persisted in embracing factionalism in a dogged manner.

At present, while our work on institutional reform is being implemented, party organizations at various levels must resolutely carry out the principle promulgated by the central authorities of not putting the "three types of people" in important positions. On the one hand, they must regularly keep track of the movements of the "three types of people" and put emphasis on their control and education. In the case of those very few remnant elements of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques who are biding their time to make trouble and to perpetrate sabotage activities, we must severely deal with each batch as it is discovered, and openly expose it so as to educate the vast ranks of the cadres and masses. On the other hand, in conjunction with the implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, we must proceed to sort out thoroughly those of the "three types of people" who still occupy posts of leadership and to replace each as he or she is discovered. Of course, we should treat these "three types of people" with discrimination; the majority among them have already come to realize their regret to various degrees, and some have even done some beneficial work. So long as they refrain from stubbornly adhering to their Factionalism, we must rescue them regardless of their past.

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CSO: 4005/152

## EAST REGION

### ATTENTION TO KNOWLEDGE AND INTELLECTUALS URGED

Nanjing DANG DE SHENGHUO /PARTY LIFE/ in Chinese, No 4, 1983 pp 18-19

/Commentary: "It Is Important to Pay Attention to Knowledge and Intellectuals"

/Text/ Paying attention to knowledge and paying attention to the intellectuals is a sign of progress in history, a requirement for the prosperity and flourishing of our socialist motherland and an inevitable trend in our reform. Paying attention to, or neglecting, knowledge and the intellectuals is a new test for every Communist and party cadre.

Paying attention to knowledge and the intellectuals means that we must pay attention to the natural sciences as well as to the social sciences and to the intellectuals engaged in work pertaining to the natural sciences and technology as well as to those engaged in work pertaining to the social sciences. We can never work on our modernizations, revitalize our economy, engage in the building of our two civilizations and realize our goal of quadrupling the value of our industrial output by the end of the present century without knowledge or the intellectuals. It would simply not do for any country to try to catch up with the advanced level of technology that marks the age of the atom, the age of the computer and the age of space technology without a large contingent of intellectuals well versed in science and in management. Since the founding of our state, there are across the country more than 5 million intellectuals with the university and college level of competence whom we have trained and intellectuals who have achieved a university and college level of competence through self-cultivation while they were settling down in production brigades in the countryside and stationed at their posts of work. They not only have undergone plenty of education and training but also have done many years of practical work, especially during the test by the "cultural revolution"; we should say that most of them (including those old intellectuals from the old society) are good or relatively good. And among them there are not a few who have even exerted diligence and earnestness at their posts of work and achieved superb results for socialism; intellectuals like Jian Zhuying /5592 4639 5391/ and Lo Jianfu /5012 0256 1133/ are fine representatives of our intellectuals today and the precious wealth of our party and state. However, in society, among the ranks of our cadres and within the party there invariably exist degrees of prejudice, stupidity and backwardness that look down upon knowledge, education and science and discriminate against the intellectuals. This is extremely harmful to the cause of our socialist modernization, and there is a need for us to carry out education by persuasion, to differentiate clearly right from wrong and to rectify our perceptions.

Of course, intellectuals, like workers, peasants and cadres, have their strong points and also their weak points. We cannot, upon seeing that certain intellectuals have this and that kind of problem, harbor an incorrect view toward all ranks of intellectuals as a result. We must strengthen our party work, guide the intellectuals to bring their strong points into full play and to overcome their weak points in practical work, continue to march forward and make even greater contributions to the construction of our four modernizations.

Then how are we to treat the intellectuals correctly? First of all, in our understanding we must overcome the influence of "Leftism" and the narrow concepts of the tradition of small producers; we must overcome our prejudices that look down upon knowledge, science and the intellectuals. Comrade Nie Rongzhen has said that a legacy of the old society that lasted a long period in our history, plus the influence of the "Leftist" ideology, there existed in the minds of many of our comrades all kinds of prejudices that look down upon, and discriminate against, the intellectuals. If we wish to work on the building of our two civilizations, it simply won't do for us to separate ourselves from the intellectuals. Comrade Zhao Ziyang has said that if we wish to work on the quadrupling of the value of our industrial output, half of our effort would have to depend on science and technology. Depending on science and technology requires depending on the intellectuals! We must establish a new trend of respecting knowledge, science and the intellectuals so as to enable the workers, peasants and intellectuals to form a fraternal alliance and thereby accelerate the construction of our four modernizations. Second, in terms of system, we must solve the problem of control over, and employment of, the intellectuals. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said: "In what we call the implementation of our 20-year development plan and the implementation of our intellectuals policy, the first measure along this line has to do with the question of how to implement the control and employment of our contingent of scientific and technological personnel." Today, intellectuals are subject to control by almost everybody, but they are not controlled very well. To have intellectuals in all fields controlled and employed well still requires plenty of work. Third, with respect to their living conditions and remuneration, quite a number of problems must still be solved. What the intellectuals are engaged in is complicated mental labor; among them not a few, especially middle-aged intellectuals, still lack the living conditions and working conditions required by such mental labor. Therefore, we must especially look after and solve the problems of this segment of the people. Fourth, with respect to work, we must seek to give full scope to the role of the intellectuals in the building of our socialism. To the intellectuals, the greatest annoyance is being unable to play their own role and being unable to dedicate to the maximum the knowledge they have mastered to the state and the people. If in their employment we show no trust and no relevant relaxation, with those deserving of promotion thus not promoted and those deserving of appointment to important positions not so appointed or with some nominally important tasks given to them but with actual power withheld from them--if these problems are not solved, we can hardly do a good job in our reforms, nor will we have any hope for our four modernizations.

Today, some people think that we have been "excessive" in placing intellectuals in important positions, that we have "overdone it" in implementing our policy toward the intellectuals and that their status has been "exalted too high," so

they even undertake to exclude the intellectuals as an "alien" force. With regard to such an erroneous perception and approach, the basic-level organizations of the party have the unshirkable responsibility to propagate among the vast ranks of our cadres and the masses the position and role of the intellectuals in the construction of our socialist modernization and to propagate the idea that the intellectuals, generally speaking, have already become a constituent part of the working class and constitute also the flank that has better mastered modern science and culture. Together with workers and peasants they make up the three basic forces and the bulk of the people of our country. We must correctly propagate the relationship between mental labor and physical labor and recognize clearly that the construction of our modernizations necessarily depends on close coepration between physical labor and mental labor. We must continue to carry out in a penetrating manner education on the party's policy toward the intellectuals. All units with intellectuals must conscientiously implement our policy toward the intellectuals. We must use all kinds of propaganda devices to comment energetically the exemplary types of fine intellectuals who have made contributions to the construction of our four modernizations. We must also warmly help and guide the intellectuals to arm themselves consciously with the Communist world view and encourage and support them to go among the masses, to go into practice, so as to allow them to demonstrate their wisdom and talent in the construction of our four modernizations and to make even greater contributions for the people and for socialism.

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CSO: 4005/152

## EAST REGION

### READJUSTMENT OF SHANGHAI LEADING GROUPS DISCUSSED

#### Readjustment of Leading Groups in Shanghai

Shanghai ZHIBU SHENGHUO /LIFE OF PARTY BRANCH/ in Chinese No 8, 1983 pp 2-4

/Text/ In February of this year, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping was in Shanghai, he looked at the list of 18 middle-aged and young-cadre candidates prepared by the personnel arrangement team of Shanghai Municipality for entry into the leading groups of the municipal party committee and the municipal government. He said: "All these 18 persons are qualified. They are the Wang Zhaoguo /3769 0340 0948/-type of personalities. Shanghai has many talents, so its qualified persons are also numerous. We must select the young ones." "In your municipal party committee and your various departments, commissions, offices and bureaus, you must select in each of your units three to five persons who are 30-odd to 40-odd years of age to be prepared for further succession." "You three (meaning Chen Guodong /7115 0948 2767/, Hu Lijiao /5170 4539 2403/, and Wang Daohan /3076 6670 3211/) must all remain when the leading groups are readjusted. Your overall direction is correct." "After 2 or 3 years, you must hand matters over to others." "After you have handed things over, you may serve as advisers in Shanghai. Work can never be finished! It won't do if we refrain from relying on young people and depend only on our own monopoly."

After Comrade Deng Xiaoping suggested such concrete opinions to the leading group of the standing committee of the Shanghai municipal party committee, he asked Comrade Chen Peixian /7115 0012 7359/ to telephone Comrade Hu Yaobang to solicit his opinion. Comrade Yaobang entirely agreed with Comrade Xiaoping's opinion and wanted Comrade Chen Peixian to telephone Comrade Song Renqiong /1345 0117 4522/ immediately. Subsequently, Chen Peixian also reported to other principal responsible comrades of the Party Central Committee in Beijing. The opinions of Comrade Xiaoping and Comrade Yaobang quickly won unanimous agreement from Comrades Chen Yun, Xiannian, Ziyang, Renqiong and Qili /0796 4539/. This also demonstrates the collective leadership of the Party Central Committee.

Of the views Comrade Chen Peixian expressed on the readjustment of the leading groups in Shanghai, a summary is provided as follows:

The Party Central Committee understands the situation in Shanghai. It has also rendered opinions regarding the readjustment of the leading groups in Shanghai. The fact that Comrade Xiaoping suggests such opinions does not mean anybody has

made any particular report to Comrade Xiaoping. Comrade Xiaoping's opinions were suggested after he listened to reactions by various circles of the Party Central Committee and also the reactions from the comrades in Shanghai. They were suggested on the basis of profound deliberations after long periods of preliminary discussion and repeated comparisons; they therefore entirely agree about the actual situation in Shanghai.

Those comrades who have joined the standing committee of the Shanghai party committee all support the opinions of the Party Central Committee. Be they comrades who remain or secretaries, standing committee members or deputy mayors who have stepped down, they all proceed from the principle of party character and express their support for the opinions of Comrade Xiaoping, Comrade Yaobang and other principal responsible comrades of the Party Central Committee. This shows that they are successfully maintaining consistency with the Party Central Committee. Comrades who remain indicate that they will obey orders and heed commands; endeavor to do a good job in passing onto, helping, and bringing along others; do a good job in standing their last guard; and prepare to hand power over at any time within 2 to 3 years. Comrades who have stepped down from the secretaryships of the municipal party committee and its standing committee indicate that they are stepping down from their posts with pleasure and actively support young comrades who step up; this attitude is a positive one and demonstrates a Communist's disposition to be open and aboveboard. This list of candidates for the new municipal party committee and new municipal government indeed looks presentable; they are basically university graduates and in some cases graduates of secondary colleges and senior middle schools. The average age of the members of the new municipal party committee and its standing committee has now decreased by 8.4 years; the average of the mayor and deputy mayors of the new municipal government has now decreased by 12.3 years. Everybody should be pleased.

The comrades who stepped down from the municipal party committee and municipal government are all fine comrades tested by long periods of struggle. For several decades they have done many tasks for the party, made various contributions to the cause of the party and earned the complete trust of our party. Now they have stepped down from the leading groups of the municipal party committee and its standing committee and as deputy mayors of the municipal government. This was done in order to meet the need of the party to have the old be replaced by the new. We hope you will wholeheartedly support the work of old comrades who remain and the new middle-aged and young cadres who have just acceded to office. You must act as Comrade Yaobang demanded of the old comrades who stepped down at the meeting where he solved the leading group question of the Hubei provincial party committee: comrades who have stepped down must support the new comrades; they must support them conscientiously; they must not only support them in front of them but also behind their backs; they must support them not only in words but also in action. In order to promote the fine middle-aged and young comrades, those who are determined are our old comrades. Once they are so promoted, we must help them and support them; to enable them to stand on their feet and shoulder their heavy burdens, they still have to rely on the support of the old comrades who have stepped down as well as of those who remain. The promoted comrades rely first of all on their own efforts to shoulder their heavy burdens. Aside from this, they really must rely on the support of the old comrades,



without which nothing gets accomplished. Having determined to promote them, the old comrades cannot but support them. In some places, after the young comrades have been promoted, the old comrades choose to say again that they probably won't do, because the burdens are by no means light, because they may not be able to shoulder them and because they are too young. Before a cadre is promoted, they would say that this cadre is very good; after he is promoted, they would again say that this cadre won't do. This is not good, yet it often occurs. We must educate the old comrades and educate the vast ranks of our cadres to support the newly promoted cadres. They must support them in front of them as well as behind their backs; they must support them in word as well as in action. To put it in Comrade Yaobang's words, "comrades who step down must cheer on the new comrades, even as the old comrades carry out their tasks of passing onto, helping and bringing the new ones along.

Once one has stepped down, it does not mean that there is no more work to do. There still is plenty of work to be done. Therefore, in a given sense, some old comrades may be said to have stepped down, but in the new posts of the future, they may be also said to have stepped up. Hence, I cannot agree with the practice of viewing who is up this time in terms of whether comrades of different opinions can be united to work together; we cannot say that in the case of the comrades who have stepped down through readjustment, we have failed to unite them. Whether they remain up or down, we must all stress the need to unite them. Among those who have stepped down this time are also comrades whose age cannot be said to be old but whose culture tends to be somewhat low. Although their cultural level is not enough, their capacity for a revolutionary disposition is adequate. These comrades should act as Comrade Yaobang has suggested, that is, "those whose culture is low must reinforce their effort to become knowledgeable." Our hope for the comrades who have newly entered the leading groups may still be expressed in the two sentences of Comrade Yaobang: "New cadres must reinforce their effort to bring about a new situation. Cadres who are intellectuals must reinforce their effort to make contributions."

Ever since they came to Shanghai, old comrades who remain, especially Comrades Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao and Wang Daohan, have resolutely implemented the line, principles and policies of the 3rd Plenary Session /of the 11th Party Central Committee/ and have done a great deal of work; their overall orientation has been correct. But, just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, it cannot be said that they have no defect or have never said anything wrong or done anything wrong. There have indeed been some whose ways of saying and doing things were not so appropriate, not so prudent and not so well rounded. The fact that the Party Central Committee decides to retain these few comrades means that the cause of the party really needs them. It is hoped that these remaining comrades will not disappoint the Party Central Committee's important trust but do a good job in leading the new groups. They must be good at listening to opinions from all sides and all places and be good at contacting and uniting comrades from within as well as without the party circles; they must do a great deal of work in this regard. They must daringly and selflessly let the new comrades explore their ways and exert their efforts and let them take over as quickly as possible. The old comrades must both pass onto, help and bring along these new comrades and trust them. Never look upon the new comrades as subordinates who are incapable of discerning the whole situation. In reality, they have many strong

points. To discern the whole situation is not so difficult. In the past, when we wanted to establish a new base, how much of the situation did we discern? Have we not always sent cadres and troops forward, and then found that the situation was opened up and the base established? Regarding old comrades who must selflessly let new comrades explore their ways and exert their efforts, an important point is that if and when they should do something wrong, they must not be subject to blame in the first instance; the old comrades should first take up their own responsibility and then teach them how to do their work better. Hence, they must pass onto, help and bring along. But they must not bind them with a "belt." The "belt" with which they are brought along, symbolically, should suggest the transmission belt on an electric generator; once the switch is turned on, the generator immediately begins to revolve.

It is hoped that whether comrades have stepped down, remain or are newly promoted, they will combine into a single force and dedicate themselves with a common mind and common effort to the four modernizations, create a new situation for Shanghai and enable the undertakings in Shanghai to make progress at the head of those of the whole country.

#### Rectification as Party-building Method Applauded

Shanghai SHANGHAI SHIHFAN XUEYUAN BAO [JOURNAL OF SHANGHAI NORMAL COLLEGE] in Chinese No 3, 1983 pp 1-3

[Article by Liu Changhui /0491 7022 1798/]

[Text] A proletarian political party is the vanguard of the proletariat, a political party dedicated to the thorough emancipation of humanity. With what kind of disposition and outlook does the party appear before the people is an important question that concerns whether the party can lead the proletariat and the masses of the people to accomplish its historical mission and that concerns the life and death of the party itself. Revolutionary teachers Marx, Engels and Lenin, in their whole life of struggle for the creation and building of the proletarian political party, have done a great deal of work and carried out long periods of sharp, complicated struggle with multifarious kinds of opportunism and revisionism. They not only established a scientific world view for the proletarian party and formulated the programs for realizing the historical mission of the proletariat and the charters for demonstrating the principles of democratic centralism but also proposed clear demands on party workstyle. They have always taken party building as a fundamental question in the realization of party leadership.

The CPC has been established according to the party-building theories of Marxism-Leninism. But because the nature of Chinese society, its class situation, its revolutionary tasks and revolutionary path were all different from those in Russia, it was therefore necessary, in building the proletarian party in China, to proceed from the actual situation in China and not to plagiarize foreign experiences.

In the great practice of creating and building the CPC, Comrade Mao Zedong proffered the form and method of a rectification movement which is suitable to

our intraparty struggle in order to reform all nonproletarian ideas reflected within the party. In adopting this method, first of all, we can study Marxism and party documents in a planned way and with a purpose, combine our work with ideological actuality, sum up our historical experiences, carry out in a concentrated manner a Marxist-Leninist education of the whole party, help everybody to raise his Marxist-Leninist level, learn to apply correct thinking methods and working methods and establish the world view and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The rectification movement that was concluded between 1942 and 1944 in Yanan was the first large-scale rectification movement in the history of our party and a profound Marxist-Leninist educational movement. Ever since its establishment in 1921, our party has always taken the unity of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution as the guide to its work. Under the guidance of this principle, the party formulated its own program of struggle and led the Chinese people to engage in a long period of revolutionary struggle. By the time of the anti-Japanese war, ours was already a big, nationwide party. Under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, our party line was correct and our party work achieved great results. But in a rather long period after the establishment of our party, the vast ranks of our party cadres, including high-ranking cadres, knew very little about Marxism-Leninism and did not have time to conduct any profound investigation and to study about many situations in the country. Hence, they still lacked a complete, uniform understanding of the unity of Marxist-Leninist theories and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Such a situation meant that much of our party work exhibited blindness and lacked consciousness. During the period of the anti-Japanese war, there still existed some problems within the party, and these were namely the incorrect ideas and workstyle left over by the various Left- and Right-deviationist mistakes of the past, especially the Left-deviationist mistakes of Wang Ming--such as subjectivism, sectarianism and party formalism, which were still make trouble quite regularly, harming the organic body of the party and interfering with the implementation of the party's correct line. But many cadres and party members still failed to recognize their grave danger and harm and failed to combine the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Such an ideological situation seriously affected the development of our revolutionary cause. Therefore, during the rectification movement the Party Central Committee required us to unit study with the summing up of our historical experiences and first of all do a good job in our study and master our ideological weapons. For this reason, the Party Central Committee prescribed 22 such documents for study and required the whole party to proceed on the basis of understanding the spirit and essence of these documents to combine our individual ideological and working realities and examine ourselves. We were asked to differentiate which realities were correct and which incorrect, those things which were achievements and those which were defects and mistakes. We were also asked to differentiate between the principal aspects and the secondary aspects. We were to carry out self-criticism consciously, rectify our subjectivism, sectarianism and party formalism, improve our ideology, change our workstyle and ameliorate our work.

The high-ranking cadres participating in the rectification and study conscientiously perused the party's historical literature and rectification documents and systematically looked back at the party's historical process of struggle.

They carried out repeated discussions on the several erroneous trends in the history of the party, especially Wang Ming's Left-dogmatist mistakes, which exerted the greatest influence. They analyzed the essence of those erroneous trends and the danger and harm they engendered in their political, military, organizational and ideological aspects. They sorted out the ideological roots and class origins of those erroneous trends and conscientiously summed up the party's historical experiences in both the positive and negative aspects and thus succeeded in eliminating the bad influence of dogmatism within the party.

This method of rectification in conjunction with self-reflection and in close combination with the experiences of history reaped very good results. Comrade Zhou Enlai said during the latter period of the rectification movement in Yanan: "Intraparty thinking has never been as liberated as it is today"; "unprecedented results of ideological reform have been reaped" ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" Vol I, p 138). In his lifetime he often mentioned that the rectification movement was one from which he gained the greatest benefits in his life. From then onwards, the ability to proceed from reality, seek truth from facts, combine theory with reality and consciously apply the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method of observing, analyzing and solving the practical problems of the Chinese revolution and construction has thus become our party's fine tradition and workstyle.

Second, adoption of this approach can help the whole party solemnly, conscientiously and responsibly launch criticism and self-criticism, correctly solve the contradictions between proletarian ideas and nonproletarian ideas within the party and thereby improve our understanding, reinforce our party character and unify the thinking and action of the whole party.

The CPC is a party that possesses proletarian principles. Its unity is built on the basis of Marxist principles, and not just unprincipled harmony. And in order to achieve genuine rather than false intraparty unity, it is necessary to distinguish right from wrong and carry out solemn and conscientious criticism against the wrong as well as self-criticism. In the 1942 rectification movement in Yanan, the propaganda department of the Party Central Committee issued a "Decision on the Discussion of the Party Central Committee's Decision in Yanan and Comrade Mao Zedong's Report on Rectifying the Three Styles." This decision pointed out: "During reading and discussion, everybody must think hard and reflect on his own work and thinking and on his whole history. It is the same while examining other people; it is necessary to conduct an overall examination and avoid harmful partiality. Taking the attitude of a wise man who knows how to protect himself and therefore refrain from saying anything even when he has plenty to say is incorrect; keeping oneself out and concentrating on attacking others are also incorrect." It pointed out that the method of criticism must be forthright, thorough and sharp and at the same time sincere and frank in the manner of seeking truth from facts and helping the criticized. During the rectification, emphasis was put on advocating a gentle breeze and mild rain, or correctly applying the weapons of criticism and self-criticism. The mechanical and excessive way of intraparty struggle under the control of sectarian emotions that took comrades as enemies was opposed. Emphasis was put on the rectification movement as a movement for self-education and self-remolding. The solving of problems must depend on people's ideological consciousness, and one must believe

that most comrades would be able consciously to solve their problems. It was repeatedly pointed out that the method of suppression would not only fail to solve ideological problems but, on the contrary, would injure the comrades, damage their unity and amplify intraparty contradictions. Hence, the correct principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, of curing the sickness to save the patient," was prescribed in order to achieve the goal of both making clear our thinking and uniting our comrades. Through this rectification, a large number of party members with a petty-bourgeois background received help in casting off their original standpoint and in shifting to the proletarian standpoint. Their competence in distinguishing true from false Marxism was enhanced, and this caused the three devious styles of subjectivism, sectarianism and party formalism to lose the conditions that allowed them to breed within the party. Thus the whole party was able to rally even more closely around the Party Central Committee and to achieve an unprecedented political, ideological and organizational unity and uniformity. Respecting this, Comrade Liu Shaoqi made the following appraisal: "Cadres of the whole party carefully examined their own thinking and work according to the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method during the movement. They inspected the leadership ideologically, politically and organizationally and launched profound criticism and self-criticism. In this way, the level of Marxist-Leninist consciousness of a large contingent of cadres and their ability to distinguish right from wrong within the party were enhanced. A large contingent of cadres came to understand the error of dogmatism, which deviates from reality. They also came to understand the error of empiricism, which deviates from theory, and thereby acquired a workstyle of uniting with the masses, resorting to investigation and study and seeking truth from facts. The work they do within the party thus became in accord with reality, and the errors in their work also decreased" ("Political Report of the CPC Central Committee to the Eighth Party Congress," Part VI).

Third, adoption of this approach can help the party to accomplish triumphantly the tasks it shoulders in the different historical periods. During the period of the anti-Japanese war, because of the Japanese imperialists' "mopping-up" and sabotage campaigns and of the Kuomintang's encirclement and blockade plus floods, droughts, and insects and similar natural calamities, serious material difficulties were brought to the liberated areas. From 1941 to 1942, we reached the point of people having no clothes to wear, no oil to use, no paper and no vegetables and our warriors having no shoes or socks and our working personnel having no covers even in the winter. In order to overcome such difficulties, the Party Central Committee decided on a series of important policies, the most important of which were the rectification and large-scale production movements. The large-scale production movement was intended to solve our material difficulties, whereas the rectification was intended to solve our ideological problems. Through the rectification movement, the party's unity on the basis of a correct ideology was strengthened, and its organizational unity and uniformity were also achieved. Thus the whole party began to have a common mind and share common efforts, exert consistent steps and energetically lead the soldiers and civilians as a whole to overcome those difficulties. It eventually won victories in both the anti-Japanese war and in the war of liberation and established the New China.

Practice proves that the form and method of rectification used in building our party have been a tested, effective form and method which are directed at

generally studying Marxism-Leninism, heightening our ideological consciousness, solving our intraparty contradictions, reforming various erroneous ideas within the party, changing our party workstyle and strengthening our party's ideology and leadership. They are the CPC's singular creation. Since the rectification in Yanan, our party has repeatedly employed the method of rectification to administer an education in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to the whole party, solve intraparty contradictions and thereby enable the party to undergo a rapid and healthy development, has accumulated successful experiences for party building and has shaped a fine tradition.

Today, the 12th Party Congress has proposed the magnificent task of bringing about a new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization. In order to realize this strategic goal, the key lies in realizing a fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle. Hence, it is necessary to elevate greatly the ideological and political levels of our party members and the leading organs of our party. From the party's present condition, we can see that the majority of our party members are good or fairly good. They are healthy ideologically. Especially since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the thinking of the vast ranks of our party members has advanced a great step. But because of the longstanding influence of Leftist mistakes, especially because of the sabotage by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, the thinking, spirit and morale of not a few comrades have sustained great damage. Many party members and cadres have fallen behind the prevailing situation. Stalin said: "Making a turn is a very serious matter. Making a turn is very dangerous to those who are not sitting stably in the vehicle of the party. Not everyone can maintain balance when such a turn is made. Every time a vehicle makes a turn, you can always see some people being thrown from it" ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 10, p 318). This is to say, a historical turn will be a serious test for everybody; some will advance, some will fall behind, and some will even be eliminated by advancing history. During this period of bringing about a new situation, in order to keep such comrades from falling from the vehicle and to enable them to march forward, the party must do a great deal of ideological and educational work. Therefore, the 12th Party Congress has solemnly declared that in order to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle, 3 years, beginning in the second half of 1983, will be used to carry out, by the adoption of the rectification method, an overall readjustment of the party workstyle and party organization in differentiated periods and differentiated shifts. This is a concrete application of our experience in the rectification in Yanan. The application of this method can help educate our party members in a concentrated way with the Communist ideology, party rules and laws and party discipline, and, through conscientious self-criticism and self-education, overcome the influence of various nonproletarian ideas and thereby consciously assist in the erosion of bourgeois ideas and help the vast ranks of our party members strive to become steadfast, clear-headed and assertive proletarian vanguard warriors. Such an approach can help our party preserve forever its springtime in the new era. According to our party's historical experience, the campaign to carry out during a given period a large-scale rectification to enhance the quality and level of all party members and to dismiss solemnly and prudently certain corrupt, degenerate party members who are found unqualified even after education or to ask them to withdraw from the party also constitutes an important strategic measure in the building of a party in power.

To sum up, so long as we apply our successful experience in history and inherit and develop our fine tradition since the rectification in Yanan, we are bound to realize a fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle and build our party into a strong core leading our socialist cause forward.

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CSO: 4005/153

## JOURNAL ANALYZES WU XIUQUAN SPEECH ON DEFENSE

Taiwan STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM in Chinese Nov 83 (Vol 17, #11) pp 83-88

[Article by Chung I 6850 2496]: "Study of the Chinese Communist Army's Strategic Policy of Active Defense--Talk By Wu Xiuquan 0702 0208 2938] As a Point of Departure"

[Text] On 19 August 1983, in his capacity as "Director of the Beijing International Strategic Society," Chinese Communist Army Deputy Chief-of-Staff Wu Xiuquan spoke to a delegation from the United States House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, led by its chairman, Melvin Price, on the subject of Communist China's so-called "Defense policy," Wu Xiuquan said, "China's strategic policy is active defense and not an offensive policy. That is to say that China has no intention of occupying a single inch of the territory of other countries, nor will it permit other countries to occupy a single inch of our country." He also said that "if an enemy invades China, we shall adopt a combat policy of stubborn defense combined with guerrilla warfare. We will rely on three favorable circumstances to combat the invader. The first is a vast territory in which our armed forces have very great room for maneuver. The second is a large population; our armed forces have abundant reserves and can wage a people's war. The third is our abundant experience in using inferior equipment to defeat enemies armed with superior equipment. Furthermore, our weaponry is constantly improving." The foregoing remarks have also been emphasized by Chinese Communist leaders. Wu Xiuquan continued, and in referring to the issue of Communist China's weapons development, he particularly noted that "Communist China emphasized development of conventional weapons, particularly offensive conventional weapons, notably anti-aircraft and anti-tank weapons." Wu Xiuquan's remarks particularly emphasized "defense," and his remarks were directed toward members of the House Armed Services Committee, which has military policy authority. He had a united front scheme in mind. First of all, the supposed enemy of the strategic policy was clearly hinted to be the USSR, and secondly, the United States should not have many misgivings about future supplies of weapons and equipment to Communist China. The present article has no intention of making a deep study of this; it intends only to take up the significance of the Chinese Communist's so-called "strategic policy of active defense and the main points of this strategic policy that have been employed for a long time, and to draw on the strategic guidance of Communist China's use of troops in combat outside China as testimony in order to explore and understand the real substance of its so-called "strategic policy of active defense."



1. What is the "strategic policy of active defense?"

Mention of the Chinese Communist army's "strategic policy of active defense" makes us remember an article that the late Communist leader, Mao Zedong, wrote on this issue during the period of rebellion on the mainland. Though Deng Xiaoping has criticized numerous of Mao Zedong's views, he has yet to repudiate publicly any of Mao's military theories. Moreover, documents of various kinds from Communist China repeatedly emphasize that "Mao Zedong's position, concepts and methods on military thinking must continue to be the guiding thinking followed in studying and directing future warfare."<sup>1</sup> In an article titled, "Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the Army," the former Chinese Communist Deputy Minister of National Defense, Su Yu 4725 5940 also publicly stated that "Mao x x formulated for us a strategic policy of 'active defense'."<sup>2</sup> The "Mao Zedong Military Thinking Academic Discussion Meeting" that the Chinese Communist convened in Peiping during October 1981 also affirmed that "the scientific system of Mao Zedong military thought not only has been, present is, and will continue to be a compass that guides our armed forces to win victories."<sup>3</sup> Thus, there is reason to quote some of Mao Zedong's old works to explain this issue. Mao said, "Strategic problems are things for studying the laws of warfare as a whole."<sup>4</sup> So-called "strategic policies" are policies for guiding warfare as a whole. On the issue of "active defense," Mao provided a broader explanation. Mao said, "Active defense is also termed offensive defense, and is also termed decisive battle defense...only active defense is genuine defense and a defense of counterattack and attack." Communist China's strategic policy at every period has been formulated on the concept of the "use of inferior equipment to triumph over an enemy with superior equipment." Consequently, Mao's formulation of the guiding principle of "a strategic policy of active defense," means going from "strategic withdrawal," to "strategic stalemate," and later changing into "strategic counterattack" (also termed "strategic offensive"). The Chinese Communist army requires creation of conditions and situations favorable to the Chinese Communist army in the course of "strategic withdrawal" and "strategic stalemate." Mao said, "These conditions and situations hold the possibility of decisive victory or defeat, yet they are not the reality of victory or defeat. There is as yet no outcome for the two armies, and bringing about this outcome depends on decisive war between the two armies. Only a decisive war can decide the issue of which army wins and which one loses. This is the total mission of strategic counterattack. Counterattack is a long process. It is the most exciting and most dynamic stage of defensive warfare, and it is also the final stage of defensive warfare." Mao also said, "So-called active defense means mostly this kind of decisive strategic counterattack."<sup>5</sup> Mao also stated emphatically, "Favorable conditions and situations must continue to be created during the stage of counterattack."<sup>6</sup>

The foregoing statements were also made during the period of rebellion on the mainland, it is true; nevertheless, for a long time the Chinese Communists have adhered to this "strategic policy of active defense," and after 1981, Chinese Communist periodicals also referred to it. Since Deng Xiaoping took charge of the "Military Affairs Commission," he has formulated a "strategic policy of active defense," and has required units at all echelons to study and

train in combat strategy, tactics, methods, and techniques under this policy. This explains why there have never been any changes in the Chinese Communist armed forces' "strategic policies," but rather special emphasis on flexible changes in all stages of strategic combat on the basis of differences in combat adversaries and places of combat, as well as differences at different times in the weapons and equipment used by both sides, and differences in essentials of strategic guidance.

## 2. A "Strategic Policy" That Differs in Substance at Different Times

When the Chinese Communists formulate "programs" and "policies" for dealing with any person, situation, or thing, they place much emphasis on their different substance at different times. Chinese Communist explanations to the "people" are like this, and their explanations to "united front partners" are also like this. Even their "strategic policy of active defense" is no exception. The 2 November 1980 issue of the Chinese Communist JIEFANGJUN BAO LIBERATION ARMY DAILY said the following in explanation of its guiding policies for combat outside China at any given time: "A review of history since founding of the People's Republic shows that no matter whether it was going to Korea to fight, fighting along the Sino-Indian border, or the counterattack in self-defense on the Sino-Vietnamese border, invariably the scale of combat, the extent of combat, whether to fight or to talk were in keeping with the international situation at the time and served our party's general line and overall policies toward foreign countries at that time." On 21 December of the same year, the Chinese Communist JIEFANGJUN BAO reported that something new in the Chinese Communist "Military Academy" was "efforts to master the science of directing combat." One article also said, "During the long period of the revolutionary war, our old generation of proletarian military experts were always adept at proceeding from realities, and formulating strategic policies and tactical principles for our armed forces on the basis of different conditions and different adversaries at different individual historical periods." In recent years, from time to time the Chinese Communist army has also proposed "enriching and developing Comrade Mao Zedong's strategic thinking on 'active defense'."7 This demonstrates that "active defense" is part of the fabric of Chinese Communist overall thinking on warfare; however, strategically and tactically, it is applied flexibly, and the "offense" component is often greater than the "defense" component.

During the War of Resistance to Japan and the subsequent period of Nationalist army rebellion suppression, the Chinese Communists put forward "protracted warfare and a strategic policy of active defense." This policy called for military campaigns during strategic defense and the waging of offensive warfare, campaigns during strategic protractedness and the waging of quick decisive battles, campaigns on exterior lines and battles on exterior lines. The third stage was to be one of strategic counterattack."8

In 1959, BAYI ZAZHI 1 AUGUST MAGAZINE and JUNSHI ZAZHI MILITARY AFFAIRS MAGAZINE, both of which are published by the Chinese Communist "Ministry of National Defense" carried articles in which Chinese Communist military cadre Zhao Guanggu 6392 0342 7359 and others publicly said "In a future war to

defend the country...a strategic policy of protracted warfare and active defense would be adopted." However, the article went on to say that "strategic policy for defense of the motherland provided for a combination of positional warfare and mobile warfare in which mostly the army would annihilate the enemy on land along the seacoast." The latter means a guiding program of strategic combat under direction of a "strategic policy of active defense." Obviously the Chinese Communist's supposed enemy at that time was "America," but America did not use troops to attack the mainland in the end. However, in the 1962 war between Communist China and India on the Indian border; in the 1969 war over Zhenbao Island between Communist China and the Soviet army, as well as in the 1979 Chinese Communist combat against Vietnam, the Chinese Communists continued to apply the "strategic policy of active defense." However, their strategic combat direction is vastly different.

At the end of 1980 when the editorial department of JUNSHI XUESHU MILITARY SCIENCE first talked about Communist China's future "strategic policy" with Xu Xianqian, Deputy Chairman of the Chinese Communist Military Affairs Commission, and former Chinese Communist Minister of National Defense, Xu said, "How should we handle a future war to counter aggression? I think we should use inferior strength to deal with an enemy possessing superior strength, or fight a people's war, or adopt a strategic policy of active defense and fight a protracted war."<sup>9</sup> Though in subsequent Communist documents, reference has been made repeatedly to Deng Xiaoping's practical and realistic study of the guiding laws of warfare after taking over the work of the Military Affairs Commission, in view of changes in our own and the enemy's circumstances, there has been further formulation of a strategic policy of active defense for our armed forces."<sup>10</sup> In fact, this "strategic policy" was not formulated by Deng Xiaoping at all, but resulted only from the Chinese Communists wanting to negate the actions of Lin Biao while he was in charge of the "Military Affairs Commission, and also to demonstrate the state of inertia following Hua Guofeng's takeover as "chairman of the Military Affairs Commission." Thus, it was emphatically stated that this "policy" was a major decision taken after Deng Xiaoping took charge of the "Military Affairs Commission." It can be said only that Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed it. Wu Xiuquan also took opportunity to explain this "policy" abroad, and he put forward "adoption" of stubborn defense in combination with guerrilla warfare as a guiding policy for combat.

At the beginning of their rebellion, the Chinese Communists believed that "positional warfare is virtually useless," but during the latter period of the rebellion, they demanded that "extreme attention must be given to learning about positional warfare." During the "Anti-America, Aid-Korea" war, they proposed "adoption of strong positional warfare."<sup>11</sup> After the 1960's, however, they called for "positional warfare in combination with mobile warfare." Today, they once again advocate "a combination of stubborn defense and guerrilla warfare." This clearly demonstrates a unanimity on the part of the Chinese Communist army for some period of time on the "strategic policy of active defense." However, at different times as their supposed combat adversaries have changed, their guiding program for combat has also changed.

## A Look at the Application of "Strategic Policies" From Communist China's Combat Against Foreign Armies"

Since we already understand that Chinese Communist strategic policy has long been one of "active defense," its content has changed only as the time and place of combat as well as its adversaries have changed. It is even more possible to perceive the characteristics of these changes from Communist China use of troops in combat outside China.

Chinese Communist use of troops in combat outside of China since usurpation of the mainland until the present day about which fairly detailed information is known internationally, the sporadic fighting on the Sino-Soviet border excepted, included the Sino-Indian border war of 1962, the Sino-Soviet Zhenbao Island war of 1969, and the Sino-Vietnamese border war of 1979. In these wars, the path to which the Chinese Communists adhered in their use of troops in combat remained a "strategic policy of active defense." From the Chinese Communist point of view, these foreign campaigns were still "defensive" in nature, though their "activeness" could have been somewhat stronger.

Let us first examine the "Anti-American Aid-Korea War" of 1950. No matter what the Chinese Communists said publicly in print, and no matter the secret behind-the-scenes background, Chinese Communist action was based on the advance of the American and Korean armies close to the Yalu River border in the Korean War, and Communist China's dispatch of troops into North Korea was done for "security" reasons. While pretending a "counterattack in self-defense," their strategic combat thinking was to regard the North Korean army's forced withdrawal from South Korea as the first stage "strategic withdrawal." The fall of Pyongyang in North Korea with removal of the capital to Sinuiju was the second stage of "strategic stalemate." The crossing of the Yalu River by Chinese Communist forces in a large scale attack on the combined American and Korean armies was a "strategic counterattack" that was in the nature of waging decisive warfare. Combat during this stage was entirely a Chinese Communist' action. Communist China's explanation of this as a so-called "strategic policy of active defense" is plausible.

In the October 1962 Sino-Indian border war, though the Chinese Communists announced that it resulted from constant harrassment by the Indian army along the border with incursions and erosion of the boundary line, the Chinese Communists concentrated a large army of about 60,000 there to launch a strategic attack on the Indian border. It was also during this period that the Chinese Communists revived the "strategic policy of protracted war and active defense." So how could the Chinese Communists claim that their large army's invasion of India was strategic combat dictated by a "strategic policy of active defense?" Though I have never seen internal Chinese Communist documents that explain this question; it is possible to say definitely that there is a certain rationale to Communist China's explanation; it was simply that the three stages of "active defense" were applied in reverse. The third stage of "strategic counterattack" (or offensive) was carried out as the first stage, and the first and second stages were changed to the second and third stages. And wasn't the "cease fire" and "troop withdrawals" following the Chinese Communist's "strategic attack" the "strategic stalemate" and the

"strategic withdrawal" (or retreat) of which Mao spoke? In fact, the "strategic attack" was the decisive stage for both parties. Its decisiveness for the war as a whole was the same. It was just that the periods through which it went were turned around. The Chinese Communists could still say that this war was also a part of strategic warfare of "active defense."

The March 1969 "Zhenbao Island" war may be said to have been a small war. However, since it was a war on the Sino-Russian border, it attracted international attention. Though combat was of extremely short duration, because the Chinese Communists announced that it had resulted from Russian army incursions against Chinese Communist occupied "Zhenbao Island," they had more reason to claim that this war was directed under the "strategic policy of active self defense."

The "Sino-Vietnamese" border war of 1979 began on 17 February 1979 when the Chinese Communists launched a so-called "counterattack in self-defense." As of 5 March, when they announced "beginning of withdrawal of forces," the war had formally gone on for 16 days. The Chinese Communists attacked North Vietnam along three routes. On the eastern front, they stormed Quinhang and Lurongson; on the central front, they occupied Tralinh and Caobinh; and on the western front they went through Laoai to capture the two cities of Camduong and Saba. North Vietnamese army killed and wounded in action topped 50,000. Should this, therefore, be called offensive combat? But it happened that this war was fought while Deng Xiaoping was chief of general staff, and he personally directed operations. Of course, it was also conducted under the strategic policy of so-called "active defense." But how could the war against Vietnam be explained as a "defensive" operation? Military experts of the past have said that "the best defense is a good offense." As far as this strategic policy of Communist China was concerned, this is easier to explain because Mao himself had noted that "Only an active defense can be a defense for counterattack and attack."<sup>12</sup> Since Communist China termed its war against Vietnam to be a "counterattack in self-defense," as well as a "punitive" war, the attack that the Chinese Communist army launched against the Vietnamese Communists was defensive in nature, and taking cities, seizing territory, killing people, and putting to the torch was "punitive." Naturally, it might be said to have been in the category of "active defense." Just as was the case in the 1962 Sino-Indian border war, after attacking, taking territory, and killing people, a "cease fire" and "withdrawal of troops" ensued. This was also the "strategic stalemate" and the "strategic withdrawal" directed by the "strategic policy of active defense."

Chinese Communist army strategic combat direction in the use of troops outside of China permits us better understanding of the breadth, depth, and flexibility of the so-called "strategic policy of active defense" that the Chinese Communist army has formulated. Given such a "strategic policy," we cannot look solely at the "defense" about which the Chinese Communists talk; more importantly, we should look at the "active" part of it. It is precisely because the "active" may frequently break through the bounds of "defense" that under direction of a "strategic policy of active defense," the Chinese Communists can sometimes engage in offensive operations against neighboring states on its borders. This also demonstrates that there has been no essential change in the Chinese Communist's "war to solve problems."

#### 4. The Present Point of Effort of the Chinese Communist Army's "Strategic Policy of Active Defense"

Chinese Communist Army Deputy Chief of Staff Zhang Zhen 1728 7201 said at the "Army-wide Training Work Conference" that the Chinese Communists convened in September 1981 that "Our combat adversaries change, but our future major combat opponents have armed forces with highly modern equipment. Formerly, it was believed that our numerous enemies would come from the sea, but in future it will be necessary to counter those who come by land."<sup>13</sup> At the end of 1980, the former Chinese Communist Minister of National Defense, Xu Xianqian publicly stated the following in answering questions from the editorial department of JUNSHI XUESHU: "How World War III will be fought and how aggression from Soviet Russia will be countered is sure to contain many new features and pose new problems."<sup>14</sup> In the 4 February 1982 issue of JIEFANGJUN BAO, a special editorial writer wrote an article titled, "Talk About Restructuring of Training in Accordance with Strategic Policy" in which he raised the subject of restructuring the Chinese Communist army's training work in light of Soviet strategic military thinking in terms of "active offense."

Most Chinese Communist military writers envisage Soviet Russia as the enemy and propose that under guidance of the "strategic policy of active defense," special emphasis be directed to attainment of strategic missions at the onset of warfare. For this reason, the Chinese Communists call for adoption of "steadfast defense," or what Wu Xiuquan termed "stubborn defense" immediately following the outbreak of war. The Chinese Communists have explained the need to adopt "steadfast defense" immediately following outbreak of war. An article titled, "Conscientious Exploration of Difficult Combat Problems Immediately Following Outbreak of War" in the 4 April 1982 issue of JIEFANGJUN BAO said, "In order to implement a strategic policy of active defense following outbreak of war, it is necessary, first of all, to fix attention on the earliest several waves of strategic assault by the enemy, and to block the enemy's "triple headed attack" 0005 2647 2445 and to seize the combat initiative in a passive situation." The article also said, "Steadfast resistance at the outbreak of war is the key to holding out against the enemy, to consolidating the battlefield, and to covering the country's entry into a wartime footing." This shows the Chinese Communists are preparing against the possibility that Soviet Russia might carry out a strategic surprise attack against them, and the guiding policy for combat that would have to be adopted in a situation where little or no prior warning had been received. For this reason, the Chinese Communists lay special emphasis in training of the armed forces on "three attacks and three defenses." In anti-tank training, they emphasize countering massed tanks, countering masses of tanks coming in numerous waves, and great in-depth attack. Training also explores how to counter vertical envelopment by the enemy, how to conduct operations in the face of enemy night sighting equipment, how to seal off atomic salients, how to strengthen coordinated operations among all services and branches of services, and how to raise cadre combat command capabilities in "steadfast defense." Obviously Chinese Communist army thinking plans on bringing about a "strategic stalemate" with an invading enemy during the period immediately following outbreak of hostilities. Then, during "strategic

stalemate," the Chinese Communist army would create favorable conditions and situations that would permit it to conduct a "strategic war of decision" in time. A general sense may be obtained from excerpts of an article that appeared in the 9 April 1982 issue of JIEFANGJUN BAO that had been written by Chinese Communist military cadre Chen Huibang [115 1920 672] and titled, "Understand 'Active' in an Overall War Context: --- Study Knowledge Gained From Experience in the Strategic Policy of 'Active' Defense." The article said, "In a future war against aggression, the active defense that our armed forces will conduct and their opposition to passive defense will differ very greatly in content from the past, and the form of operations during the period immediately following outbreak of war will also undergo fundamental changes." This so-called "differ" and "changes" refers to the so-called "strategic withdrawal" to "lure the enemy in deeply" during the first stage of "active defense" of which Mao had formerly spoken. Now, let us take up the change to "strategic stalemate" in "steadfast defense." The article continued by saying that "the overall situation in any future battle against aggression... i.e., from the beginning of our strategic defense in the face of the enemy's strategic attack, following a fairly long period of extremely daunting struggle, the situation of the enemy being strong and ourselves being weak will change, and a strategic equilibrium and mutual stalemate will ensue. We will become strong and the enemy weak, and the enemy will be forced to the strategic defensive. We will then go on the strategic counteroffensive and attack." Of course, the Chinese Communists have also taken into consideration the possibility that during the stage immediately following outbreak of war that the "steadfast defense" they adopt may not completely achieve anticipated results," and the Chinese Communists have also anticipated a large amount of airborne combat. It was for this reason that Wu Xiuquan proposed "stubborn resistance in combination with guerrilla warfare." It was also the reason that some articles brought up the old song about "people's war," advocating fullest use of the combined power of field armies, local forces, and militia under guidance of a strategic policy of active defense in a close linking of positional warfare, mobile warfare, and guerrilla warfare."<sup>15</sup> However, in their war preparedness and training programs, Chinese Communist emphasis on "steadfast defense" is firm. Not only do the Chinese Communists require that military units conduct more defensive training exercises and fewer offensive exercises, but they also emphasize research and development of defensive weapons such as anti-tank, anti-missile, and anti-air attack weapons. In addition, the Chinese Communists collect and study data on performance of all kinds of Russian weapons and equipment as well as training given to the Soviet armed forces in counter guerrilla warfare to find ways to counter them. A speech made by Chinese Communist Deputy Chief-of-staff Zhang Zhen in September 1981 at the "Army-wide Training Work Symposium" called for the preparation before 1985 of an outline, teaching materials, and training rules and regulations."<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, in an article titled, "Hasten the Revolutionizing, Modernizing, and Regularizing of the Armed Forces," Zhang Zhixiu [1728 9455 4423], commander-in-chief of the Kunming Military Region not only said that "the Soviet Russian hegemonists are bent on subjugating us," but also said that "the United States is promoting a hegemonist policy," and, in addition, the Vietnamese small hegemonists are constantly carrying out armed provocations in our border regions."<sup>17</sup> All the foregoing shows that the Chinese Communist armed forces have yet to work out a pertinent and workable

combat plan for future war under guidance of a "policy of strategic active defense, but that they are still envisioning different hypothetical enemies. Furthermore, the Chinese Communist army's arms and equipment are still extremely backward when it comes to meeting requirements of a future war. Just how the Chinese Communist armed forces will be able to work out a body of effective strategic combat principles and theories for complex and frequently changing combat situations, and also be able to carry out a flexible strategy and tactics under the aegis of a "strategic policy of active defense" is a large question.

## 5. Conclusions

(1) Though the Chinese Communists have reaffirmed a "strategic policy of active defense" today, and have called for application of a combat policy of "steadfast defense in combination with guerrilla warfare," and though they have emphasized "defensive combat" training at all levels in the armed forces, we have discovered that most combined training exercises conducted by the Chinese Communist army, as well combined training carried out by the Navy, are largely offensive training exercises. Consequently, we positively should not misapprehend the "strategic policy of active defense" that the Chinese Communists have formulated, or that they will not use their weapons outside of China as part of "steadfast defense." In fact, the Chinese Communists have used troops in combat outside of China many times in the past. In October 1949, they invaded the offshore island of Chinmen that we hold, and in 1955, they attacked and occupied Yichiangshan, which we held. These were all actions taken under aegis of the "strategic policy of active defense." Mao said that this "active defense was defense for the purpose of counterattack and offense. "The possibility that the Chinese Communists may use troops abroad in future is a matter that both we and the world cannot discount.

(2) In speaking about countering aggressors with "a combination of stubborn defense and guerrilla warfare operations, Wu Xiuquan mentioned reliance on three favorable factors, namely, a vast land, a large populations, and experience in the inferior overcoming the superior. He demonstrated clearly that the Chinese Communists are still thinking in terms of using traditional warfare to counter an attacking enemy using conventional arms. In such circumstances they could use the vast land for maneuver, and use human sea tactics to envelop the enemy. However, in a situation in which atomic missiles as well as numerous air operations were employed, the Chinese Communist's former "experience in the use of inferior armaments to defeat an enemy with superior equipment" would not apply. Despite a vast land and a large population, they would sustain increased losses to no avail.

(3) Though Chinese Communist emphasis on the strategic mission during the early stages of war is "an extremely important step"<sup>18</sup> in carrying out a strategic policy of active defense, and though they have studied from many angles the various tactics and combat methods to be used in "steadfast defense" during the period immediately following outbreak of war; nevertheless, because of the Chinese Communists requirement that these measures be used in combination with guerrilla warfare, and their pointing out that "guerilla warfare continues to be an effective magic weapon whereby our



armed forces can use inferior equipment to triumph over a superior equipped enemy," the Chinese Communists anticipate that campaigns or strategic combat that makes deep penetrations into inland areas may take place even while they are conducting a "steadfast resistance." If the Chinese Communists continue to think in terms of relying on their past experiences with guerrilla warfare to fight foreign armies, it is feared that results will not be as marked as they have been in the past. Nowadays, in particular when the mood of the broad masses of people on the mainland is a variance with the Chinese Communist regime, the former guerrilla role of "guerrilla warfare" will be weakened.

(4) Today when the Chinese Communist's no longer have the former conditions and opportunities for a "people's army" and "people's war," and when the armed forces lack talent as a result of Chinese Communist long-term neglect of knowledge, no matter how they go about studying and developing the "strategic policy of active defense" that they have formulated, it will be difficult to establish a body of military doctrine and a so-called "strategy and tactics for new circumstances in a new era" to meet the needs of complex future circumstances and that can deal with the realities of multiple kinds of combat operations. Statements pertaining to military matters in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" show just how impoverished their military thinking is.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Mao Zedong's Military Thinking is the Guide to Our Army's Victories," excerpted by Song Shilun [1345 2514 6544] and published in JUNSHI XUESHU, Issue 7, 198. sic
2. RENMIN RIBAO, 6 August 1977
3. Xinhuashe dispatch from Peiping, 2 November 1983
4. "Strategic Problems in the Chinese Revolutionary War," Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 1, p 168
5. 6. "Strategic Problems in the Chinese Revolutionary War," Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 1, p 209
7. Article titled, "Development of Strategy and Tactics to Meet New Circumstances" published in the 27 February 1982 issue of the Chinese Communist JIEFANGJUN BAO
8. "On Protracted War," Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 2, p 474
9. JIEFANGJUN BAO, 31 Dec 1980 and JUNSHI XUESHU, First Quarter 1981
10. Excerpts From an Article by Commentator in JIEFANGJUN BAO, 4 February 1982
11. Ibid.

12. "Strategic Problems in the Chinese Revolutionary War," Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 1, p 193
13. JIEFANGJUN BAO, 15 October 1981
14. JUNSHI XUESHU, First Quarter 1981
15. Excerpted from "What is Guerrilla Warfare ," Tan Yongsheng 3282 3057 05247, JIEFANGJUN BAO, 19 Feb 1982
16. Article titled, "Do a Good Job of Restructuring Training in Accordance With Requirements of Future Warfare," JIEFANGJUN BAO 15 Oct 1981
17. GUOFANG JANSHI NATIONAL DEFENSE SOLDIER Newspaper, 27 July 1982
18. Article by Special Commentator, JIEFANGJUN BAO 4 Feb 1982
19. Same as 15.

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PROBABLE SHORTCOMINGS OF CPC CONSOLIDATION PREDICTED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [Contending] in Chinese No 73, Nov 83 pp 31-35

[Article by Tao Jun [7118 0689]: "Can Party Consolidation Save the Party?"]

Last month the CPC convened the 2d Plenum of the 12th Central Committee and passed a "Resolution on Party Consolidation" to determine the beginning, this winter, of comprehensive party consolidation to be completed within 3 years. In order to advance the work of party consolidation, the CPC also established a 27-member "Guidance Commission for the Work of Party Consolidation" with the specific responsibility for giving impetus to the program.

For the Moment the Party Is in No Danger of Perishing

The question of party consolidation has been winding around in Deng Xiaoping's mind for a very long time. As early as shortly after his reemergence in 1973, he has advocated party reorganization. He is the one who has constantly borne in mind Mao Zedong's Yanan rectification campaign tactics. At that time the "Gang of Four" was still in power, and Deng Xiaoping's advocacy was considered to be "a practice of stirring up the Right and reversing the correct course." He again came under attack and eventually fell from power. Actually, Deng's purpose for suggesting party consolidation at that time was to restore the normal functioning of the party. He never dared to think openly of purging the influence of the "Gang of Four" from the party.

After the "Gang of Four" fell from power, Deng Xiaoping still could not reemerge immediately. Later on he wrote two letters to Hua Guofeng and the CPC Central Committee asking to be pardoned, and finally he was able to reemerge. From that point on it was as if "the fierce tiger had returned from the mountain." Step by step, fighting and kicking, he proceeded to carry out a comprehensive reversal of his case. Moreover, he struck down "all cliques," grasped the reins of power over the entire party and army and became known far and wide. With regard to the party that faces him now, however, the question is not one of restoring normal activity but rather one of corruption--of rectifying the party. Everything from top to bottom is corrupt enough to make one choke. It has reached the point that Deng, Chen Yun [7115 7189] and Hu Yaobang [7579 5069 6721] all reluctantly believe that if things continue on in this fashion, there will be a danger of ruining the party and the nation. The destruction of the nation that they speak of

does not mean the extinction of China but rather the extinction of the People's Republic of China.

This talk of the destruction of the party and the nation contains some justifiable exaggeration. Its purpose is to issue a sharp warning to "their side" in order to enhance their vigilance and stop short of committing a grave error. But in reality, although at the moment the CPC is certainly corrupt enough, the level of corruption is not critical; it is not something that has existed throughout their 34 years in power. Consequently some people believe that the present-day Communist Party is not much different from the Nationalist Party [KMT] prior to its fall from power on the mainland--they are pretty much the same. In the past the corruption of the Nationalist Party was contrasted with the youth and vigor of the Communist Party. Popular opinion embraced the Communists and caused the KMT state to perish (the Republic of China was destroyed on the mainland). Now, although the CPC is following in the corrupt footsteps of the KMT, there is no newly born, young and vigorous force on the rise to place the Communist Party in immediate danger of destruction.

Officialdom Is Divided into 30 Levels; People Are Divided into 5 Classes; Value Is Divided into 3 Kinds

It is not alarmist talk to say that the corruptions in the CPC are really too numerous to record. For the present I will try to cite a few of the most blatant instances.

#### A Feudal Stratification System

The most disgusting point about the Communist Party is its feudal stratification system. In this regard it is even worse than was the Nationalist Party. The KMT also stratified officialdom into what were called "special appointment," "recommended appointment," "selected appointment" and "designated appointment" ranks. However the government never provided Western-style houses or cars for the officials in each of these four ranks. It was completely up to the guile of each official to arrange for these indulgences. The CPC, on the other hand, has fixed 30 grades of civil officials: the 1st rank includes the president and the vice president, the 2d and 3d ranks designate the premier and vice premier, the 4th through 8th ranks include ministers and vice ministers, the 6th through 10th ranks include bureau chiefs, and vice chiefs and the 11th rank onward all designate high-level cadres. It is not only the salary which differs between ranks; automobiles, Western-style houses and villas, retinues and business travel remunerations all vary. There are even stipulations about who has the seniority to ride in Red Flag-brand automobiles and who is qualified to ride in Liberation-brand automobiles. Another manifestation of stratification is that there are strict differences among the highest CPC Central Committee leaders in terms of the order in which they are named, seated and appear on stage and even in how they are chosen for close-up and distance photos on public occasions.

Between 1949 and 1976 there appeared in society a "lowly class." At the beginning it was composed of landed, wealthy, counterrevolutionary, scoundrel

and rightwing elements. Later on, "turncoats," "spies" and "capitalistroaders," as well as the discredited intelligentsia, were added and thus the "lowly class" expanded endlessly. The "aristocratic" opposites of the "lowly class" are the five Red categories. Between "Red aristocrats" and "black despicables" the classes are sharply demarcated, barriers are clear and social statuses differ by a wide margin. Proceeding to the next step produces "consanguinism" [i.e., culpability through kinship], and thereupon the evil is extended to implicate one's descendents and entire family. Not only the KMT era but even any imperial dynasty in Chinese history is incomparable to this kind of situation.

Since the "Gang of Four" fell from power, and particularly since Deng Xiaoping came to power, the "capitalistroaders" and "turncoats and spies" all have been reinstated. They have risen again from the status of the controlled to that of controller-bureaucrat, and no longer comprise the lowly class. The rightwingers for the most part all have been exposed and rehabilitated. Those recorded as landed or wealthy, however, still remain in the official files. New counterrevolutionaries and scoundrels have been substituted for the old ones, however. The most regrettable thing is that since China has opened its doors to the outside, still another kind of stratification system has appeared. This is composed of a division of people into five levels and a division of value into three types. State guests come first, foreign guests are second, overseas Chinese are third, Hong Kong compatriots are fourth and Chinese citizens are fifth, with each receiving a different kind of treatment. Entry and exit prerequisites vary, as do those for communications means, hotels and access to restaurants. This has rendered all Chinese citizens the new lowly people in the eyes of foreigners. For a nation to demean its own people in this way is historically unprecedented.

Following from this "foreign aristocrat system" is the division of value into three types. Foreign guests are one type, overseas Chinese and compatriots from Hong Kong are another type and Chinese citizens are still another type. There is a disparity, more often than not by a double measure, between each type. To "give a fair deal and be honest with all" was originally a logical business ethic. The CPC has disregarded this fairness principle and has enacted the three-values policy in the name of government.

As far as relationships between Chinese citizens are concerned, a formal "lowly class" has already vanished. However, the boundary line separating officials from the people is still rather clearly demarcated.

Honest and Upright Officials, Corrupt Officials and Local Bigwigs

Bureaucratism

The primary reason that there is this kind of wide disparity between officials and the people is that officials are the ruling class and people are the ruled class. These kinds of officials are definitely not public servants; rather they are public masters.

Officials of the KMT emphasized collegial relationships whereas CPC officials emphasize their status within the party. Naturally, the higher one's status is in the party, the greater one's power is to order people around. Lower-level officials all must be slavishly dependent upon higher-level officials because they are appointed by the latter. Consequently "sedan-chair bearers" and trumpet blowers" arise as the times require, and cronyism follows as the logic of necessity. Officials and those in high positions naturally put on outrageous bureaucratic airs. They stand high above and divorce themselves both from the masses and from reality. They misuse their authority, are pretentious, regard misunderstanding as understanding, give arbitrary and impracticable orders, are obscurantist, act to keep up appearances and pay particular attention to ostentation and extravagance. In handling things, if they are not arrogating all authority to themselves, being subjective, reprimanding subordinates or increasing restrictions on experts, then they are making excuses for each other, shirking responsibilities, violating their promises and engaging in excessive official travel. Those in low positions are bound to boast and flatter and mouth empty words. They do things in a perfunctory manner, are obsequious and dilatory in handling things, play around too much and sigh over green tea [i.e., take long breaks]. On the one hand, honest and upright officials are law-abiding, conservative in the old rules, worldly wise and careful and "grow more flowers and fewer thorns." Corrupt officials, on the other hand, play favorites and commit irregularities, pervert justice for bribes, deceive superiors and oppress subordinates, shield one another, make "no-squeal" pacts and engage in retaliatory attacks.

Over the years, because they are far from intervening authorities, high- and low-level officials in some remote regions begin to trifle with the law. They form cliques and associates, their power becomes deep-rooted and they become impressive-appearing local bigwigs riding roughshod over others. The common people can do nothing about it because registered residences, professions, grain rations and family life are all in the grasp of these bigwigs. Even if they should desire to redress a grievance, there is no place of appeal. This kind of local bigwig is no different from a warlord of bandit leader.

"Dispense Rewards According to Merit and Enfeoffment According to Noble Rank"

#### Lifelong Tenure

In the KMT only the fathers and sons of the Jiang [5592] family have lifelong tenure. Other officials, generally speaking, do not have tenure for life. However, in the CPC everyone from the leadership down to the ordinary cadres has lifetime tenure. I surmise that the reason for this arises out of two kinds of ideas. One of these is an ideology of meritorious service and the other is the socialist ideology of communal and equal sharing of resources. The lifetime tenure of high-level officials and military officers comes largely from the ideology of meritorious service. Such people consider that state power comes in exchange for their lives and that those who have been made rulers have no choice but to rule. From Mao Zedong down to the whole body of the Long March and female cadres, everyone is like that. Thus an unwritten

law has formed that says "dispense rewards according to merit and enfeoffment according to noble rank." This state of affairs is like that of the victory spoils in every peasant war in Chinese history.

The originators of this evil--lifetime tenure--are the leaders, high officials and senior generals of the CPC. These leaders subconsciously felt that they bore a moral responsibility to all meritorious workers for the enthronement of a new imperial dynasty. The many meritorious workers themselves also felt is not unusual to accept this. Therefore, everyone shares some responsibility for imperceptibly laying a foundation for the lifetime tenure system. Later it became natural through force of habit, and everyone mistook this sort of feudal ideology for an outstanding feature of socialism. Thereupon it was promoted and spread throughout all cadre units. Those above follow their own bent and those below had to imitate them. This being the case, the upper strata dispensed rewards according to merits, fixed status according to military or official rank and arranged rank according to seniority. One could go up but not down. This kind of consciousness then gradually solidified and became a publicly recognized socialist moral standard. Thereupon, all middle- and lower-strata cadres also went along with arranging rank according to seniority and considered it an honor to rise and a disgrace to fall in rank. In any case, "socialism" has an "advantage" in that everyone shares. Thus all bureaucrats, large and small, became one big family of individuals with vested interests. Everyone now accepts lifetime tenure as the natural order of things.

An effective means of resolving lifetime tenure is through election, examination and assessment (that is, to implement democratic elections, examine according to genuine talent and carry out an assessment of knowledge). Although the 37th article of the party constitution passed by the CPC 12th Party Congress stipulates that cadre posts are not for life, and thereby makes clear its determination to abolish lifetime tenure, examination and assessment have still not been put into practice and democratic elections are not likely for the foreseeable future. If democratic elections were really carried out on the basis of an examination of talent and an implementation of rigorous assessment, most of this batch of CPC leaders and cadres would be weeded out. This would be beneficial to the country, but the CPC could never accept it--they would think the sky might collapse.

#### A Social Epidemic--Influence Peddling

##### Influence Peddling

Influence peddling is one kind of action to mediate relationships. Those who treat it lightly merely rely on their prestige to negotiate favors. Those who emphasize it bribe openly. However, as to prestige and favors, some people exchange prestige for prestige and some exchange favors for favors, but most still regard sending presents as the method of choice. Essentially this is bribery. At present the winds of bribery have already blown into every corner and every section of China and have sprung up everywhere. This is an open manifestation of bribery that is unprecedented in history. Its universality far surpasses the manifest corruption of the KMT in its years on the mainland.

Influence peddling has already become a "social epidemic." Its bacteria multiply extremely quickly and are contagious for great distances. At this point the disease has already infected the hearts of every Chinese on the mainland. Nobody has any means of evading it; everyone has lost their power of immunity. Traditional social morality has been enormously undermined. To trace the reason for this, one cannot look to any intrinsic depravity of the Chinese people for an explanation. Hong Kong is also a Chinese society, and it is not troubled by this kind of epidemic. There are particular economic and political reasons why this kind of epidemic is so prevalent on the mainland. Economically these reasons are related to a deficiency in the supply of goods and materials. Politically they are related to the unchecked spread of power. Further, they are even more closely related to the system of control that the CPC holds over all economic and social activities and over individual lives.

In this individual aspect, no matter whether it is in regard to moving a residence, job transfers and promotions (being promoted and receiving a raise), starting school, looking for an occupation, dividing a house, going shopping, seeking medical advice or leaving the country, all must undergo a "study of connections" and influence peddling. Otherwise, one will not get twice the result with half the effort, but on the contrary will wait for action without any result.

In the social aspect, transactions between individuals and businesses and between businesses themselves, as well as individual or business negotiations with government offices, all meet with level after level of checks by authorized tax depots. If there is no "study of connections," the barriers will be insurmountable, but if one exercises pull one will get the green light everywhere. As a result, connections and "under-the-counter relationships" [i.e., obtaining personal gains through connections] have appeared everywhere. In business units the most current method of pulling strings is to send "discounted goods" to these connections and parties to under-the-counter relationships. The gift is from the state but the connection gained is for oneself.

Though some influence peddling is public, the vast majority of it is private. Therefore, unnumbered unspeakable things occur as opportunities arise.

After China opened up to the outside world the custom of influence peddling was extended into foreign trade. When foreign businessmen have trade relations with China, they must go through bureaucrats and "compradors." the beginning bureaucrats openly demanded "the eight major conditions." For example, they demanded support for their sons and daughters to go abroad to study, invitations for themselves to go abroad to visit and subsidization of the expenses of foreign visits. Later on they proceeded to the next step of secretly receiving and accepting bribes and commissions. These they stockpiled in Hong Kong or overseas for the living necessities of children studying abroad or for the use of businesses managed by those sons and daughters. In this way, through subtle channels, bureaucrats used their capital to establish intimate connections overseas and a new, scaled-down version of "bureaucrat capitalist" appeared.



## Selfishness Expands While the Public Good is Buried

### Neglect of the Public in Favor of the Private

Since the 10-year Cultural Revolution, under the control of the CPC, people's selfish motives have expanded in an unprecedented fashion. "Look to money for everything" is currently the most widespread, prominent mentality on the mainland. Under its influence, anything public-spirited or nationally beneficial has been disregarded. The people are this way and so are the members of the CPC. The reason is that the people have completely lost confidence in the causes and ideals of communism, while many high officials who were rehabilitated and reinstated still harbor a mentality that seeks to reap some profit from the losses of the Cultural Revolution.

The most universal manifestations of selfishness are in scrambling for private savings and job assignments for sons and daughters, grabbing for goods and materials and taking advantage of the state. If these things went on within proper limits, there would still be first-rate, honest, upright officials. However, many people have already exceeded regulations, broken the law and violated discipline unscrupulously. Because of this there has been exploitation of state construction funds and materials to build private homes and also the use of education funds to establish private savings. The poet Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395] excoriated and challenged the phenomenon of dismantling children's courtyards to line one's pockets. It was in no way a deliberate smear; rather it was expressed with reason and with an extremely heavy heart. Even more dreadful are the county and town party officials who disregarded children's education and demolished the only elementary schoolhouse in the area, taking the materials and land to build homes for themselves. When human nature reaches this depraved condition, it truly makes people sob and sigh.

In regard to the corrupt practice of parents placing their children into jobs, the worst influence comes from high-level cadres. It is well known that the attendants in Beijing's Xiangshan Hotel take no notice of the guests. Recently the newspapers exposed such a scandal of senior-cadre nepotism. The case happened at the Sichuan First Cotton Textile Printing and Dyeing Mill in Chengdu. This factory sent \$190,000 (U.S.) out of the country in order to introduce integrated-circuit photograph-printing equipment, but it did not assign the job to specialized personnel. Rather, it gave the positions to the ignorant and incompetent children of some senior cadres. They manipulated the equipment to their own benefit. Cases similar to this can be found everywhere. Not long ago, at the National Symposium on Organizational Reform and Consolidation of Sectional Scientific Research convened in Nanning, it was divulged that the large number of non-scientific, non-technical personnel that have swarmed into national scientific research organizations have already had a disastrous effect.

There are some instances of taking advantage of the state, such as the inappropriate use of public property or the removal of construction materials to one's own home, that are really minor matters. The serious matters, on the other hand, include illegally selling either state-purchased, state-assigned

state-assigned goods and materials or raw materials allotted to enterprises under the state plan. Likewise, selling gold and silver, jewelry, cultural relics, cars, lumber, chemical fertilizer, coal, steel, refined tungsten, medicinal materials and so on or collaborating with foreign firms to sell export commodities within the country are all serious matters. Making up fake bills and contracts to seek profit therefrom, deliberately juggling the books, embezzling or misappropriating public funds and even going so far as to conceal smuggling are further serious abuses. These kinds of behavior constitute criminal economic conduct that both breaks the law and violates discipline. According to a report by the Central Committee for the Inspection of Discipline, by the April closing deadline of this year, the number of cases of economic crimes handled nationwide was 190,000 of the cases reviewed. Of these cases, 130,000 have already been resolved and nearly 30,000 people have been convicted. Calculating from this, on the average only one out of every four-plus people involved in those cases that have already been resolved has been convicted. One could say that this is lenient in the extreme. The convicted ones whom the newspapers have allowed us to view have all been small fry. Except in the scandal involving the former vice minister of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, Yang Yibang [2799 5030 6721], what senior officials have been exposed?

The manifestations of selfishness mentioned above are all related to a neglect of the public. There are some other matters of public neglect, such as watching helplessly as imported equipment worth many millions or tens of millions of American dollars is thoughtlessly left outdoors where nobody pays it any mind and it is drenched with rain and inundated with mud until it rusts. Even worse is the gross waste that occurs in basic construction and in business management and administration. This waste, which is easily worth tens or hundreds of millions--even billions--of yuan, is truly alarming.

#### Disillusionment with Ideals and Demoralization of Ambition

##### Tattered Conviction

In the past, when the Communist Party fought the revolution, their primary reliance was on the ideal of communism. During the 34 years that it has been in power, particularly during the unprecedented feudalistic and fascistic domination in the 10-year Cultural Revolution, it was not only the Chinese people who lost faith in communism and the Communist Party. Even among CPC members and cadres there were many whose confidence in communism or socialism was shaken. Strictly speaking, in the CPC today, party members who rely for security on the desire for a powerful position are gradually increasing. There are many CPC members who already are unclear about just what, after all, is socialism or what are its advantages. There are some people who have fundamental doubts about the contributions of Mao Zedong, and some who have developed worries about Deng Xiaoping's reforms. The "Three Crises of Faith" [lack of conviction, confidence and trust] in the CPC are unprecedentedly grave. It has reached the point that even senior CPC cadres one after the other are sending their children abroad, where, after their studies are completed, some of the latter remain in capitalist countries. Making this kind of arrangement for intimate kin even more clearly reflects these cadres'

true inner feelings than do the numerous imposing statements developed above. Wavering convictions similarly reflect the change in people's dispositions. The revolutionary will to fight as a sacrifice for the people is quickly vanishing. What is arising in its place is the desire to preserve, and the reluctance to leave, positions of power, and also the pursuit of personal gain.

Are Established State Laws Disregarded Especially in Order to Compose Self-Criticism?

In the recently passed "Resolution on Party Consolidation" the following passage appears: "At present there are some party members and party cadres who have completely forgotten the aim of wholeheartedly serving the people. They are seeking private gains for themselves or for their own circle by every means possible. They ask for help from the party, vie with each other for status and wrangle over pay. They openly transgress financial and economic discipline, violate the State Plan, run counter to national economic policies, withhold profits from tax revenues, concoct all sorts of pretexts and squander, waste and misappropriate state and organizational property. In such things as housing, adjustment of wages and of children's and relatives' employment, admission to higher schools, promotion to cadre status, working arrangements, change of rural residency to urban residency and finding work in other areas and so forth, they take advantage of their position and power, and of convenient and personal relationships at work, in order to seek privileges. They break the law and violate discipline and infringe upon the interests of both the state and the masses. They take no consideration of national laws and they shield and harbor criminal elements. They even go so far as to participate directly in smuggling and illicit resales, graft and bribetaking, speculation and profiteering and other illegal activities.

"There are also some party cadres in positions of leadership who are imbued with bureaucratism and whose revolutionary will is weakening. They are well-fed every day and remain idle. They are completely indifferent to the suffering of the masses, to the development of production, to the reform of the system and to the construction of spiritual culture. At work they dispute with each other over trifles, shift responsibility to others and even counteract each other's efforts. Their grave dereliction of duty has led to huge errors in state administration and alarming waste in production and construction. This has greatly harmed the party and the nation, both politically and economically."

The phrase "there are some party members" is used here to reduce the scope of the situation deliberately. In reality, party members suffering from the abovementioned maladies are in no way an isolated minority, but on the contrary, are a widespread phenomenon. Leaving aside for the time being a discussion of the degree to which this has spread and considering instead the corrupt phenomena discussed in the resolution, they are such as could not exist openly and would not be permitted in advanced Western nations or even in the Japanese governmental organization. In Europe, America or Japan, any of this kind of illegal, undisciplined conduct or dereliction of duty would immediately come under attack in public opinion, would be legally punished

and would be disciplined with dismissal. Nixon fell from power because of the Watergate incident and Tanaka was convicted in the Lockheed bribery case. By contrast with China's previously unnecessary "party consolidation," people can't help asking wherein, in the final analysis, lies the superiority of socialism. Could it be that the superiority of socialism lies precisely in laying bare such inattention to state laws--in taking all offences against law and discipline and all derelictions of duty on the part of party cadres and removing them to the party for the purpose of composing self-criticism?

#### Resolution within the Party Has Not Yet Produced the Desired Effect

It is not that the leadership of the CPC does not realize the degeneration and corruption within its own party. It is just that they have long held to the established practices of Mao Zedong's Yen'an rectification campaign. In the Yen'an era there were no state laws, so it was excusable to utilize that set of party laws--similar to the domestic discipline executed by the head of the household in feudal societies--to teach party members and to punish their sins. But now they have been in power for 34 years and obviously have established state laws. For them to ignore these and still use this sort of feudal household-head-like "family relic"--rectification and consolidation of the party--is truly bizarre.

The leadership of the CPC is deeply aware of the corrupt phenomena within the party. They understand the seriousness of the problem and from time to time they issue warnings about it. They believe the problems with party practices are of life-and-death importance to the party. It is true that if the party's practices are not corrected, it will not only not be able to lead China into modernization, make the nation prosperous and strong nor make the people free and happy, but the situation will deteriorate further. It will only cause the party's prestige in the eyes of the people to be stripped away almost completely until they finally abandon it.

As a rescue plan, in recent years the CPC has adopted some measures that attempt to increase restraint. At the beginning of 1979, it established the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline. Further, at the Fifth Plenum in February of 1980, it passed a resolution entitled "Certain Standards for Intra-party Political Life," which it demanded that all party members observe. However, neither of these has produced results. Corruption not only has not been reduced or weakened but, on the contrary, has become more critical day by day. Particularly since restrictions on internal and external economic affairs were lifted, corruption has been increasingly aggravated.

This past July Secretary Han Guan [7281 0342] of the Central Commission for Discipline confessed the following to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress: "In our steadfast implementation of the plan to remove restrictions on external economics and to enliven internal economics..., we have encountered a situation wherein there actually is a group of criminal elements who seize the opportunity to fish in troubled waters...and engage in serious criminal economic activities. The large number of such illegal activities, the breadth of their range, the enormity of ill-gotten gains, the odiousness of the circumstances and the methods, the seriousness of the

damage and the corrupting effects are all such as have never before been seen since the founding of this nation."

"Never before been seen since the founding of this nation"--this is really saying something! This is a new phenomenon that arose after the enlivenment of economics and, moreover, cannot be attributed to the pernicious influence of the "Gang of Four." Taking aim at this newly critical situation, the CPC has also initiated a campaign to attack economic crimes. Its examining and managing body is the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline. In the past year or so of its investigations, altogether more than 190,000 cases have been exposed. However, obstructions are so considerable that all those they have been able to convict were nobodies. The illegal activities of important people have thus become even more ingenious, cautious and carefully plotted.

The current party consolidation campaign is another measure based upon a past series of efforts that so far has not yielded notable results.

#### Ideological Correctness and Self-criticism

Now we will consider for a moment whether party consolidation can resolve the problems. According to the plan behind the "Resolution on Party Consolidation," it is intended that within 3 years an overall consolidation will be carried out in party practices and organization. The plan is comprehensive and the time allotted is lengthy; this seems to indicate determination. However, the methods chosen are like using a warm fire to heat iron--it will be hot enough to burn the skin but will not forge the iron.

The CPC has fixed on four points for this task of party consolidation: unification of ideology, consolidation of the working style, strengthening of discipline and purification of organization.

What can they use to unify ideology? The primary thing is "The Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" because this collection is the modern-day development of Mao Zedong Thought. Or is it rather a classic Confucian-like almanac to stabilize the country? The population of China is 7 billion and there are 38 million CPC members: could one Confucian classic unify the minds of all the people? Even if the line of Deng Xiaoping Thought is better than the Maoist line, the time is past when one man's thoughts or one kind of ideology could be venerated by all. After the lessons of the 10-year "Cultural Disaster," who can still believe that it is reasonable to venerate ideology alone?

Furthermore, according to a materialist viewpoint, in the final analysis criminality and corruption are produced from the conditions of objective reality. If these conditions did not change, would a sole reliance on ideology be enough to curb and redress these wrongs?

This "unification of ideology" is nothing more than talk. In reality the aim of the current leadership is simply to place the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" at the center of study. They want to standardize Deng's ideology

and use this standard to judge all party members. (Of course, "Certain Standards for Intra-party Political Life" is also a criterion for judgment.) They further want party members voluntarily to "take their seats according to the number on the ticket" and carry out "criticism and self-criticism." Those who cleave to the standard will remain in the party. Those who are not completely in accord with the standard will be forced to turn over a new leaf or remain under party observation for a time to see how they behave in the future. Those who are completely out of sync with the standard will then be asked to quit the party voluntarily or be expelled from it.

The so-called "consolidation of the working style, strengthening of discipline and purification of organization" are dependent for success upon the implementation of the above sequence.

#### The "Three Types of People" and the Three Groups of People May Be Expelled

Using these methods to carry out party consolidation enables us to predict that in regard to getting rid of the "three types of people" (this refers to people who made their fortunes on revolt, people who are seriously factionalist in their ideas and people who engaged in beating, smashing and looting during the Cultural Revolution), they will surely achieve their goal. These "three types of people" are all remnants of the Cultural Revolution--Deng Hupai's [6772 5170 3175] sworn enemies. The purification of organization stressed by Deng Hupai is primarily directed at this group of people.

Elimination of those people who oppose the Third Plenum line is precisely the elimination of dissidents. This has been a tradition throughout the more than 60 years since the founding of the CPC. The group in power at any particular time in the party always seeks to purge dissidents who do not agree with their policies. Nobody knows if he, like Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281] and Hua Guofeng and others, will be considered a "stubborn opposition" in the future.

Serious economic criminals are really just common criminals. Serious lawbreakers are also just common criminals. To expell these kinds of people from the party is something that ought to be done in the normal course of events. Why wait for the party consolidation?

The things that are essential in party consolidation lie mainly in changing those party practices and grave corruptions that have been raised successively in this article. However, in pondering the methods adopted by the "Resolution," my guess is that they will succeed in expelling "the three types of people," the common criminals and the violators of discipline but that have absolutely no possibility of changing the corruption detailed above--the stratification system, the bureaucratism, the influence peddling and the neglect of the public in favor of selfishness and so on.

#### A Tentative Suggestion

Finally, I would like to try out a suggestion. Since the "Resolution" stipulates that this party consolidation begin with the CPC Central Committee,

it is hoped that every senior official will start by removing himself from the ordering of names, stage appearances, automobile privileges and other aspects of the stratification system. Then he should abolish all special privileges for himself in regard to housing, housekeeping retinue and other aspects of daily life and thus set an example for everyone.

Simultaneously it is hoped that there will be an immediate announcement of the abolition of the stratification system that divides people into five types and divides value into three types. This kind of stratification system is the great disgrace of the nation, ridiculed by foreigners all the time and unbearable to overseas Chinese. The way to abolish it is merely to issue the order at any time. There is no need to wait for 3 years of party consolidation.

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